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ЕТНІЧНА ІСТОРІЯ НАРОДІВ ЄВРОПИ

ETHNIC HISTORY OF EUROPEAN NATIONS

№ 14

**CURRENT DIRECTIONS
IN HISTORICAL-ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH:
TENDENCIES AND PERSPECTIVES**

**СУЧАСНІ НАПРЯМИ ІСТОРИКО-ЕТНОЛОГІЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ:
ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ І ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ**

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Pekka HAKAMIES
Joensuu

ORAL HISTORY – A NEW PARADIGM IN FINNISH FOLKLORISTICS

Folklore research and fieldwork were unquestionably done in Finland until the end of the 1950s in the way scholars had adopted decades earlier. The emphasis was on traditional, rural folklore consisting of fixed texts. Collection and research had already started in the early 19th century with the old epic poetry and incantations, somewhat later the documentation of fairy tales began, and gradually various genres of non-fictional prose also became a topic of interest.

Some folklore among the folklorists exists about the profession concerning various aspects of activity by past researchers and staff at the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society. One story relates how in the mid-1950s some influential people at the Archives had decided that the collection of folklore material would be soon come to an end and then only the research needed to be done. However, a change of paradigm was soon to occur in the 1960s, and perhaps a suggestion of that shift appeared in the paper presented by the recently appointed professor of Folklore Studies at the University of Helsinki, Matti Kuusi, at his inauguration in 1959. His main thesis was that there is no end to the existence of folklore and its gathering and there are clear analogies between the forms of traditional, pre-industrial folklore and modern popular culture[1].

Another work symptomatic of the change was the study of the folk religion of Ingrian Finns, particularly the role of the tutelary spirits[2]. Based on the functionalist viewpoint, this work emphasised the study of the folklore as a part of the total culture and the importance of contextual information. At the same time this was a clear departure from the old geographic-historical school that had dominated Finnish folklore studies until that point.

In the early 1960s a general readiness to adopt new ways of collecting and studying folklore arose among the younger generation of folklorists. A breakthrough occurred when young scholars from the Nordic countries conducted a fieldwork seminar in Vöyri, Finland in 1965. The presentations and discussions held at the seminar marked a shift in a new direction influenced by new streams in American folklore studies, a gradual shift of emphasis to persons knowing and performing folklore, i.e. on tradition-bearers, on the performance of folklore, the documentation of the performance situation and the wider context of the folklore[3].

The technological, social and cultural development of society, however, made it gradually more and more difficult to find and record pure traditional folklore (oral, anonymous, collective, schematic[4]; for archives and as the subject of research. Stories and songs were encountered less often and became shorter and their performers older. In a way, this change – the gradual disappearance of traditional folklore – forced collectors and researchers to seek something else to gather and to concentrate more on contextual information. As a consequence, the complete life story of the respondent was sought and recorded on tape, various aspects of the past folk life and culture were recorded as the narrators remembered them, and in an ideal case some “real” folklore also found its way onto tape. Conversely, the new recording technology, portable tape recorders, gradually but profoundly changed fieldwork practice and finally the whole ideology. It became possible to record not only folklore texts, but the entire narration and generate a real discussion since the interviewer no longer had to bother writing down the main content of the narration[5].

The new paradigm that emerged during the 1960s had its roots in several areas: cultural anthropology and American folklore studies, social sciences and folk life studies. An influential work in this vein was the study of the individual as tradition-bearer, *The Religion of Marina Takalo* by Juha Pentikäinen[6]. Marina Takalo was an illiterate woman from Russian North Karelia who emigrated to Finland in the early 1920s. Pentikäinen interviewed her repeatedly during the 1960s using the then new deep interview method. The study turned interest from texts to persons in folkloristics, although the author himself considered it a “religious- anthropological study”.

Towards the end of the decade a new way of gathering material for folklore archives was found: campaign-

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style writing competitions. This, in turn, generated a new concept: "memory data," which has since equated with "oral history." It was first used in 1965 – 1966 concerning memories of the Finnish Civil War in 1918. Subsequent campaigns involved Loggers' recollection stories in 1969 and those of construction in 1970. This way of gathering material for archives became popular in the 1970s. Several professional groups and organizations desired to cooperate with the Archives. Their aim was to document their own tradition and recollections and the publication of a book reflecting the main themes of the material.

Nevertheless, new materials seemed strange in the eyes of the folklorists. Various recollections and personal stories written by the participants did not fit into the old scheme of genres nor meet the traditional definition of folklore: collectivity, anonymity etc. Although new types of materials were collected, they did not deserve the attention of folklorists. For instance, there were several new phenomena in the Finnish folklore presented in 1974 in the book *Folklore Today*[7], but not a single article about oral history or personal narration. The only hint in that direction was an article concerning the labour tradition[8]. In the early 1980s "oral history" was still hardly mentioned in the papers delivered at the Nordic Congress of Ethnology and Folkloristics[9].

The first campaigns for collecting oral history focussed on distinct professional groups or historical events like the civil war or emigration from the part of Karelia ceded to the Soviet Union during the Second World War. The materials on these events can be characterized as "oral history" since they represent the collective experiences and attitudes of the people involved, although the materials formally consist of mainly personal stories and recollections. The initiative regularly came from the outside. In the campaigns organized later on, the personal character of the materials became more evident – personal stories and autobiographies that reflect personal, in extreme cases unique, experiences more, like the "great family chronicle" or the "story of the unemployed." Common to both types of materials is the first person narrative about the past.

Theoretical comprehension of the new material began in the 1980s and one of the first texts was an article by Leea Virtanen dealing with personal narration[10] – a bit paradoxically, as she was one of the strongest critics of the collection policy of the Archives. In her article she used the concept of *chronicate* initially introduced in 1934 by C.W. von Sydow[11], which was meant to be analogous, to the term *memorate* used in the research on folk religion. It was defined as a story about a historical event based on personal experience. Another term was also introduced: *joculate*, in regard to a first-person story about a humorous event. However, these terms have not since been widely used.

One of the researchers at the Archives has later characterized the accumulation of new materials as a widening of the scope of collecting. In addition to the old agricultural tradition other traditional cultures have become topics to be recorded. In these campaigns "tradition" has a broad meaning: "memory data" – reminiscences about past events, people and life as well as characterizations of life and work today. The aim has been to document some aspects of everyday life in the past and present. In this way, information is gained concerning issues that remain outside official statistics and documentation, like oral history about the life, desires and struggles of people[12]. An early prototype of this work were some rare old descriptions of rural everyday life of the 19th century that were later highly valued by researchers[13] as unique documents. It seems, however, that the shift in the recording policy of the Archives has been less a result of a conscious reasoning than a spontaneous, only partially conscious and controlled development.

An important step in the formation of the new collection policy was the adoption of labour tradition and culture as a relevant subject of research. For a long time workers' traditions and culture were ignored by professional researchers and folklore collectors. There were several reasons for this, including the ideological[14]. During the 1960s the situation changed along with a general change in the ideological atmosphere in society. Gradually labour folklore and traditions were acknowledged as sufficiently valuable for collection and study – and by the labour movement itself.

In Sweden such work already started in the 1940s, in Norway in the 1950s and in Finland at the end of the same decade; research was more active in the Scandinavian countries than in Finland. One of the pioneers in Finland was Ilmar Talve, Professor of Ethnology at the University of Turku, who had begun this research in Turku in 1959, collecting of the "memory data" of workers[15].

The broader recording and documentation of the workers' oral history started in 1960 when the "Workers' Memory Data Committee" was established by the labour organizations. Its aim was to document everyday life, working conditions, free-time and organization activity. By the late 1960s already 50 000 pages had been written by 3000 people. Selected materials were published in the form of workers' oral history anthologies[16].

Gradually the responsibility for documenting workers' culture and traditions was taken over by the Archives. Its first significant campaigns were the collecting of memories from the Finnish Civil War 1918 (1965 – 1966) and loggers' life and traditions (1969). By then the documentation included the memories of various professional groups as well as any special group discernible in some respect in the society (e.g. patients in tuberculosis sanatorium). Due to economic and social development, the proletariat as a distinctive social class with its own

culture has to a great extent disappeared; its former members have been integrated into the society and, conversely, collecting memories of the past and present has achieved a classless character, as the majority of citizens in Finland nowadays represent a broad middle class. So, "proletarian folklore" has suffered the fate of agrarian folklore.

This development has led to a broadening of both the concept of "tradition" and the general consciousness of the existence of an entity called "tradition." Practically speaking, all memories or reminiscences narrated or written can be categorized as tradition in the public discourse, and several groups, be they social, professional or regional, are interested in gathering and displaying their "tradition". In actuality, "tradition" in this sense refers to any cultural phenomenon in society, in the broad sense of the term "culture."

Oral history has gradually developed since the Second World War as an internationally known and legitimate discipline in the field of historical studies[17]. Finnish folklorists and historians joined the international discussion in the 1980s, although Jan Vansina's book *Oral Tradition*[18] had already attracted attention in the early 1970s. New connections between sociologists, folklorists and ethnologists and historians emerged in the late 1970s because oral history was a phenomenon existing between folklore and history, and life stories between folklore and sociology. There was also a paradigmatic shift in Finnish sociology in the early 1980s away from quantitative surveys and Marxist theory to qualitative research and narratives as material. For instance, J-P Roos did a study in 1987 of biographies of Finns, and the material for this was collected in written form through a campaign[19].

Initially, sociologists were more interested in the personal narrative materials collected at the Archives. In 1993 the director of the Archives could still write that personal narrative materials seem to have been interesting for those who do not have the need to question their authenticity as tradition, thus hinting at a difference between the sociologists and folklorists[20].

In general, three different (but not mutually exclusive) viewpoints can be discerned in Finnish folklore studies in the past two decades which use personal narratives as source material. Those representing the first viewpoint concentrated on the way people construct their life, their identity, and relate this. This includes reflecting on the dialogical interview process and the positions and relations created in it. The second orientation concentrates on the study of memory, the production of narratives and the situation-boundedness of narration. The third looks at the way common experiences and ideas are expressed in personal recollected narration; this is the real oral history.

One of the most important works devoted to the dialogical relationship between the informant and the researcher has been Laura Aro's doctoral dissertation *I in the Village*. In her work she reflects the position of both participants in the interview, "bridging the gap" between the I and the Other. She calls the stories she recorded "identity narratives," which is approximately the same as life stories. The title of the book is consciously ambiguous as there are always two I's, the researcher visiting the village and the narrators continuously living there. The identity of each informant is construed during the discussion in the interviews but the story does not belong to any of the participants in the process since it is a cooperative effort. The work is influenced by hermeneutics and the cultural critique of cultural anthropologists since the 1980s, and the methods have been borrowed from narratology and discourse analysis[21].

A good example of the second orientation is the study by Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhoj about Juho Oksanen and his personal stories. Here the emphasis is on the narration, on the process of memory and the production of the story. Kaivola-Bregenhoj has heard the same, favorite stories of Juho Oksanen several times and use narratological analysis to compare the text produced by the narrator each time. Her findings are that common and idiosyncratic traits crystallize in Oksanen's personal stories and are quite closely related to the forms that exist in traditional folklore[22].

The difference between Juho Oksanen and Aro's informants is in the character of the stories they tell. Juho Oksanen''s stories refer to various interesting events in the past of the local community though not necessarily to his own life; the stories recorded by Aro are clearly autobiographical.

Several examples of the third group, studying oral history, concern workers' lives and collective memories. The title of Ulla-Maija Peltonen's dissertation is *Memories of the Civil War. A study in the Formation of the Finnish Working-Class Narrative Tradition after 1918*[23]. Her main material were stories about the atrocities of the civil war, particularly in the aftermath of the war. For several decades the only public narrative, the official history of the war, was told by the winners, the Whites, and the Red narrative was preserved in oral history, stories and memories told by Reds and their relatives. In this way there is a certain emancipatory motivation to counterbalance the one-sided truth of the war.

Peltonen examined the stories from the perspective of theme-analysis and motif-history and compared her material with traditional historical legends. Certain similarities between the war stories and traditional folklore are noted. Consideration has also been given to the functions of the stories. The atrocity stories told by Whites conformed with the stories told in the propaganda and were used as a motivation for the harsh measures taken by the Whites during and after the war. The main function of the stories told by the Reds is to preserve their own

history and, sometimes, mental compensation or revenge by the virtual punishment of the Whites guilty of the worst atrocities. This is achieved by discussing the miserable fate of those people, their fears of reprisals, psychic and moral instability as a consequence of their deeds.

Jyrki Pöysä's study[24] of the formation of the social category of the logger in Finnish culture is also a good example of the possibilities offered by the new materials and new approach to them. The aim of the work is to study how the category of logger has been understood over the course of time, how the loggers have been divided into sub-categories, how they differed from other rural people and how this is represented in folklore and oral history. The study is based on materials gathered by a campaign in 1969.

The paradigmatic change in the collection and later research on the folk tradition has also generated various new terms: memory data (= oral history), recollected narration, personal story, life story, personal narration, historical memory, everyday narration, rumor; chronicate, joculate. Some of these concepts have a fixed and generally accepted meaning, but many are overlapping and vague and are used more or less in ad hoc meanings as there is no general agreement about them[25].

"Reality is socially constructed" has become the slogan of a new orientation in folkloristics, and more widely in cultural studies, and is based on ontological and epistemological viewpoints of constructivism. According to this idea, materials do not exist as ready entities in the field, as supposed by essentialism, but are construed through the interview in the cooperation between the researcher and informant. This is definitely true, for instance, about the identity stories studied by Laura Aro, life stories and autobiographies, but it is not so apparent if we consider the old folklore, epic songs or fairy tales, that were told by the community even before the appearance of folklorists.

The new paradigm has gradually developed in Finnish folklore studies since the 1960s, partly as a conscious choice based on new ideas from American cultural anthropology, partly as an unavoidable consequence of the natural development of culture in the modern world. The new orientation initially became popular in the fieldwork and collection program of the Archives but it took a long time before folklorists were ready to accept the new materials as a relevant topic and source of research. Nowadays the gathering and study of "oral history" or "personal narration" is the main trend in Finnish folkloristics. Through the "narrative shift" in cultural and social studies[26], the concepts of narrative and narration are joining an even wider sphere of research which, in turn, emphasizes the importance of the new paradigm in folklore studies. Narrativity is no longer a quality of the material but of the research as well. Some, however, may think this is going too far.

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УСНА ІСТОРІЯ – НОВА ПАРАДИГМА У ФІНСЬКІЙ ФОЛЬКЛОРИСТИЦІ

Технологічний, соціальний і культурний розвиток суспільства призвели до того, що вже в 1960-х роках ставало все важче знайти й записати чистий традиційний фольклор. Поступове зникнення традиційного фольклору примусило збирачів і дослідників шукати інші об'єкти для збирання і зосередитися на контекстуальній інформації. У 1960-х роках був винайдений новий шлях збору матеріалів для фольклорних архівів – проведення масових записів. Це, в свою чергу, генерувало нове поняття – "дані пам'яті", які прирівнювались до "усної історії". Хоча нові види матеріалів були зібрані, вони не привернули уваги фольклористів. Теоретичне осмислення нового матеріалу розпочалося в 1980-х роках. Мета полягала в тому, щоб документувати деякі аспекти сучасного і минулого побуту. Збиралась інформація, яка стосувалася проблем, що залишалися поза увагою офіційної статистики і документації, насамперед, усна історія. Це призвело як до розширення поняття "традиції", так і загального розуміння його суті. З практичної точки зору всі спогади, розказані або написані, можуть бути поділені на певні категорії. Парадигматичні зміни в зборі матеріалів і пізніші дослідження народної традиції також породили нові поняття: дані пам'яті (=усна історія), пригадана розповідь, особиста історія, життєва історія, історична пам'ять тощо. Деякі з цих понять мають фіксоване і загальноприйняте значення, але багато з них перекривають одне одного, або невизначені і використовуються більшою чи меншою мірою із спеціальним значенням.

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CUSTOMARY LAW CONCEPTIONS OF UKRAINIANS REGARDING 19th CENTURY LAND LAW (on the basis of legal cases concerning the "starozayimochni" [seized long time ago] in Slobozhanshchyna)

Institute of land ownership is one of the most difficult for research spheres of the customary law tradition. It is caused by the variety of land relations which dominated in Ukraine both in synchronous (spatial) and in diachronic (temporal) context. Researching customary land relations of the 19th century it is difficult to take into consideration the following factors: firstly – regional aspect, as in every region due to historical and social circumstances the original type of land relations was formed; secondly – chronological moment, as almost every decade had its specificity connected, in particular, with appearance of the new legal regulations which, on the one hand, could include historical type of land relations existing on the certain territory, but on the other – tried to level, to eliminate, to destroy them.

Slobozhanshchyna is extremely interesting region in many aspects, in particular, from the point of view of studying land relations and folk sense of justice in the field of land law. It was formed as a result of dynamic settling the wild field lands behind the Bilgorod defense line in 17th – 18th centuries both at the expense of the powerful migration wave of Ukrainians and with the participation of Russian service class. Unlike Russian colonization which had, as a rule, state nature, settling this territory by Ukrainians was mostly spontaneous, though they tried to secure legality of their stay by means of numerous patents which Ukrainians used to obtain by dint of corresponding appeals to reigning persons (petitions).

Classical features of Ukrainian customary colonization law were shown in settling Slobozhanshchyna by the Ukrainians. These features were elaborated during centuries at least since the time of so called "going-offs" of Lithuanian-Rus State. Before that it was used while settling Zaporizzha region as well as Hetmanshchyna (Poltava and Chernihiv regions). So in 17th – 18th centuries the folk sense of justice already had its clear scheme how exactly uninhabited territory must be settled and how the land property right is obtained. In that time documents the phrases "Cossack liberties", "Cossack freedoms", "Cherkasy customs" etc. appear. They can be considered to be folk legal terms marking the phenomenon of Ukrainian customary colonization or folk and colonization law. So, despite the fact that during settling Slobozhanshchyna right of ownership by seize (zayimka) was obtained by the Ukrainian settlers not for the first time, the terms "zayimochni" (those which are seized) and "starozayimochni" (those which were seized long time ago) were assigned in pre-revolution Russian official legal practice and science mostly to this region. In Ukrainian oral tradition and later on in historical science the territory of Slobidski regiments was called "zaimanshchyna" (seized lands). Another meaning of the term "zaimanshchyna" is juridical: "land ownership obtained by the right of first seizing of unoccupied land"[1]. In the pre-revolution literature under the name "zayimka" they meant "historical way of obtaining land property in the so-called Slobidski regiments which formed Kharkiv province. Zayimka became the main way of obtaining property in Slobidskyi region"[2].

So, the main peculiarity of the folk colonization law of Ukrainians was obtaining initial land property as a result of agricultural settling of freely seized land. We must emphasize at ones that the right for initial seizing ("zayimka") is not exclusively Ukrainian legal custom, it is typical actually almost to all colonization movements of agricultural nature. It was the way, for example, British people used to settle the wild territories of Australia and North America.

The aim of this research includes tracing the main features of folk sense of justice of the Ukrainians of Slobozhanshchyna in 19th century concerning "starozaimana" ("starozayimochna") (seized long time ago) property in land. The source basis for this research is the legal cases by the suits published in the number of editions of the 19th – beg. of 20th centuries, legislative acts, protocols of the meetings of state commissions with discussions, other documents including patents of 17th – 18th centuries[3], as well as manuscripts of Central State Historical Archive in Kyiv[4].

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Question about starozaimani (starozayimochni) lands of Slobozhanshchyna has bicentennial history, during which there were culmination moments and periods of slack. These two hundred years can be relatively divided into three stages.

The first one is "idyllic". Chronologically it can de defined by the time when the patents were granted to Slobidski military communities and to individuals (1669 – 1743)[5]. Ukrainian Cossacks settle the territory behind the Bilgorod line, partially spontaneously, partially in an organized way mostly arbitrarily seizing lands for ploughing up, as well as settling grounds (forests, hayfields etc.). The settling scheme was as follows: firstly Cossacks settle certain territory by the community and then apply with petitions to Moscow tsars containing requests to assign this land to them. And tsars after some time granted them patents for the whole community or individually. Other (less spread) variant: Cossacks settled lands previously defined by the Moscow authority. In both cases Moscow tsars gave them a permission to settle by the right of "zayimka" ("to seize zaimkas (pieces of land), apiaries and acquire all sorts of grounds"[6]) granting them right to own the land forever under their ancient "Cherkasy customs", as it was written in that time patents. They were also granted tax and trade tallage concessions. For that the Ukrainians had to do "military regiment service" in Cossack Slobidski regiments – of Sumy, Kharkiv, Okhtyrka, Izum etc. So, on this stage Moscow authority was interested in settling new lands and defending borders of Moscow State. That is why it was granting Ukrainian settlers the right to develop new lands, conduct pioneer agriculture as well as manage under their own customs.

The second stage – is cancellation of Cossack service, capitation and levying labour-tax on Cossacks and military inhabitants. Formally this stage can be started from the time of cessation of granting patents to Slobitski settlers. But actual offense on the rights of Slobidski Cossacks started during the reign of empress Katherine II, who having been interested in the situation in Slobidski regiments, issued Nominal Decree of 11 March 1763 concerning census of "Cherkasys" who resided in this territory. Later on General demarcation of Russia was carried out, proclaimed by Katherine II in her manifest of 19 September 1765[7], carried out in 1770 – 1790. Beginning from this time great quantity of imperial senate decrees, resolutions, instructions, laws, orders were issued. They firstly adopted, then cancelled, then explained, then expanded different regulations as to former military settlers of Slobozhanshchyna[8]. The main thing for that period is that starozayimochniks (those who seized the land long ago) were exempt from military service and transferred to the class of state peasants with levying on them state tax. Change of official status (or rather to say, names of their class) for the most part didn't influence the climate of relationship with the state. Though sometimes certain doubts and unrest among population of Slobozhanshchyna took place, especially in view of compulsory partial transition from individual way of land ownership to the communal, common one. Though in all documents those lands were mentioned as public, Ukrainian peasants of Slobozhanshchyna continued to manage in the land not under the law but under the custom, in particular, disposed of their (as to their opinion) land at their own discretion: sold, pawned it etc. That is why this stage can be called "dual law": de jure starozayimochni lands were considered public, de facto – they were in private property of peasants. After the reform of 1861 owners of starozayimochni lands (starozayimochnyks) were to make redemption for their land[9]. But they categorically refused to pay for "their own land". Exactly in that period the process of activization of folk sense of justice begins. It was connected with the comprehension of their customary-law heritage on the one hand, and with binding it together with new bourgeois realities and new legal terminology, in particular, with the concept of "private property in lands, on the other.

3. The last stage can be characterized as "culmination and upshot". It is connected with the exacerbation of the question of starozayimochni lands in 1880 – 1900s years. Peasants of Kharkiv province started bringing suits to the court about recognition after them of the ownership right of the lands seized by their direct ancestors in 17th – 18th centuries. Proving in the court their ownership right of their lands automatically meant avoiding the procedure of redemption of their own land. First steps were rather encouraging. Thus, Kharkiv Court Chamber awarded ownership of 15819 dessiatinas (1 dessiatina = approx. 2 3/4 acres) of starozayimochna land to the community of state peasants of the town of Okhtyrka. That decision was confirmed by the Senate[10] by the Decree of Civil Department of Appeal of Governmental Senate of 14 May 1880. It gave a ground for other peasant communities to bring similar suits against the Exchequer about awarding their land ownership, as well as about repayment of labour-rent paid by them for the whole period of time. The courts in 80s of 19th c. started answering to claims and awarding considerable amounts from the treasury for repayment of paid labour-rent and redemption payments. But after some time it was calculated in the Ministry of Finance that if all claims had been answered the treasury would have been obliged to repay about 50 million roubles[11]. So on 25 September 1883 it was declared by the Special Imperial Decree about suspension of cases concerning the suits about starozayimochni lands until the resolution of the question about those lands in legislative order[12]. As a result 272 cases were suspended (111 – Kharkiv Circuit Court, 28 – in Izium Circuit Court, 13 – in Sumy Circuit Court, 6 – in Kursk Circuit Court, 85 – in Kharkiv Court Chamber, 29 – in Civil Department of Appeal of Governmental Senate)[13]. After long study of the question in historical (history of settling Slobozhanshchyna) and legal (study of all statements and patents)

aspects final decision was made: starozayimochni lands are in ownership of the State Treasury, and peasants only have a right to possess them except for the situations when the patent was granted not to military community but to the individual with required mentioning patrimony rights in it.

So the conflict was settled not in favour of Slobozhanshchyna peasants. Their rights were not recognized to be of private property nature. In the conflict between the official law and custom the stronger won, that is to say – authority. The situation is rather standard and does not cause a surprise. We are interested in the other moment: how folk legal conceptions about seizing (customary seizing law) show (though through the mediation of the barristers and ardent advocates of peasants) during the trials and wide discussions in state departments and sittings of the court.

The main and the most substantial proofs of the rights of Cossacks of Slobozhanshchyna to starozayimochni lands ownership were as follows:

1. lands settled by the first military settlers of Slobozhanshchyna ("Cherkasy") did not belong to anybody; that was a "wild field", that is to say from the legal point of view it is absolutely natural to consider this situation as jus primae occupationis – right of the first seize;

2. free settling "no man's" lands and right to freely manage in them "under own Cherkasy customs" was sanctioned by the Russian State by great quantity of tsar patents; it proves that "chercasy customs" were customs of law in legal sense;

3. during two hundred years irrespective of what name and status bore that land and its owners, Ukrainians of Slobozhanshchyna managed in it under the custom as in own land. Evidence of that is that the land was descended, sold, pawned etc.

Naturally the state (especially in the person of the Exchequer) not only wasn't interested in answering the claims and repayment of compensation for the accurately paid during many years labour-rents, but simply couldn't do it. That was the reason why the denial of the Cossacks rights to land became the matter of principle, where they even didn't manage without historical and legal falsifications[14]. By the way for the Russian law, at least beginning from the 15th century, seizing of the land, even no man's, is not enough to obtain ownership of it[15]. That partly explains the aggression of some officials in the question of starozayimochni lands.

Now let us consider each proof in detail. Thus, as to the first one there was wide discussion on historical subject, which is worth several dissertations by the quantity of documents and quotations of historical literature engaged. One of the arguments from the side of authorities was that the land settled by the inhabitants of regiments of Slobozhanshchyna in 17th – 18th centuries was not no man's but was territory of Moscow State forming border region of Bilgorod Department. The Governmental Senate defended the view that the land behind the Bilgorod line (that is to say actual that time border of Russia) belonged to Moscow State giving number of rather far-fetched proofs, in particular, that there some time ago existed sites of Ancient Rus settlements (in fact sites of Ancient Rus host campaigns of that time), and that Russian guards patrolled it. These and other "proofs" were totally demolished with wide engagement of documents[16] by the peasant barristers. Those documents convince that "settling Slobidska Ukraine... took place in a way of free seizing wild lands by the Cossacks..."[17], and that the lands situated to the South from the Bilgorod line "didn't belong in that time to Moscow State but were the site of Tatar hordes roaming, what is proved by the Tatar names of many sites of ancient settlements of that terrain and that, being at last taken from Tatars and settled by Maloros (Ukrainian) Cossacks absolutely independently, this territory became part of Moscow state only since the time of voluntary taking out Moscow tsars citizenship by the Cossacks of Slobozhanshchyna"[18].

This question is worth more detailed study, as it is connected with very important customary sphere, namely difference of concepts about "own space" among agricultural and nomad peoples.

Territory, which in the future formed Slobidska Ukraine, was nothing else than wild field, which if even belonged to anybody so only to Nogai hordes roaming here regularly. Here we face the problem of conflict between customary conceptions about "own territory" among agricultural and nomad peoples. For the farmers the land is no-man's if it is not tilled. So, claims of nomads to the wild field were not considered to be worth attention. In fact whole history of formation of territory of Ukraine – is slow but irrevocable advance to the nomad lands.

By the way some historical sources show that Ukrainian Cossacks respected customary law of their Southern neighbours, in particular, their conceptions about "own space". Under the testimony of the author of "History of Rusy", "Sirko was an amazing man of rare character as to courage, energy and all military success; and with sufficient quantity of troops could easily become Tamerlan or Chingizkhan, that is to say great conqueror. But he was Zaporozhets as well, that is to say kind of fool or insane. Once Hetman Samoilovych wrote to him reproaching that in Zaporizzha steppes some aulas of Tatars roam. He writing back to him that it is done by the leave of the Host of Zaporizzha because Tatars have poor harvest of grass and for that reason he benefits from them by the reciprocity..."[19]

Tsar patents testify, in particular, the fact of the first Slobozhanshchyna settlements in the territory of regular

nomad Tatar sites. Those patents permit Cossacks to settle "along the Belgorod line in wild steppes on Tatar lands where Crimean and Nagai hordes roamed..."[20], "behind the Vorskla river, in the Crimean land, in the Tatar way, in the wild field..."[21], "from Crimean and Nagai land, in the wild steppes along Severnyi Donets and Oskol rivers in Tatar fords and crossings"[22]. It is often mentioned in patents that Cossacks (Cherkasy) settled Tatar sakmas[23]. Meaning of the word "sakma" under Yavornytskyi is tracks of numerous cavalries[24]. This territory was permanently controlled by the Nogai Tatars. It is natural that Ukrainian guards patrolled wild steppes as well. So the fact that Russian guards patrolled the wild steppe territories does not mean belonging of this land to Russian exchequer.

Examining the second evidence certainly we can recognize that people's Ukrainian and state Moscow colonization of the wild field, roaming sites of Nogai and Crimean hordes took place simultaneously. Having escaped behind the borders of Polish State Cossacks needed a protectorate. So there is nothing strange in their taking out citizenship of Moscow State, but under the conditions of preserving their land rights and own way of life. By the way in the deed of 17 March 1654 concerning accession of Mala Russia and Ukraine to Russia, Moscow tsars undertook obligation to preserve after the Mala Russia Cossacks their land ownership in inviolable integrity[25]. And both sides were interested in it.

This agreement was in force during settling Slobozhanshchyna and formation of Regiments of Slobozhanshchyna as well. So in Tsar Patent to Sumy Colonel Kondratyev Tsar granted Cossacks "irrevocable favour and all their Cherkasy's inalienable customary freedoms"[26]. Similar promises are also generously granted in other patents. In particular, V.Gurov cites following expressions that Cossacks were granted land "for eternal residence", it is permitted to "settle by themselves", "own under the Cherkasy customs". It this context classical legal custom is before us. "Legal custom – custom, sanctioned by the state and thus transformed into the source of law. Custom is sanctioned by the state in the process of judicial of administrative activity by official prescription in legal acts of the possibility to use the legal custom for regulation of certain social relations or "tacit consent" of authority to the fact of application of the legal custom in certain legal relationships or inclusion of customary law into the legislative acts – customary law codes"[27].

Folk sense of justice of Ukrainian peasants in 19th c. included the moment of necessary sanctioning their ancient customs by the state.

Since the Roman times there has been a concept of jus primae occupationis (the right of the first seize) in the law. Almost always it envisaged to certain extent the sanction of the state. Ukrainian legal tradition was not an exception. So, settlement of Cossacks along the Dniper up to the rapids was sanctioned by the King of Poland Sygizmund I. Rights, freedoms and privileges were confirmed to Cossacks by Stefan Batorii as well. As the law and state control in ancient times were not yet so perfect to take under control all incidents of settling no man's lands, to a considerable extent people's colonization was spontaneous. Only from time to time it referred to general statements of authorities or abstract permission of magnate.

In the code "The norms, under which Mala Russia people go to law" (which unfortunately never entered into force, but is a good illustration of that time real legal situation) in the chapter IV "About freedoms and liberties of Mala Russia" in point 3 of article 3 "About seizing arable and other lands" it is stated: "Ктоби себе какие грунта и угодия нажил, а оние прежде никакого владельца не имели, или би кто на пустую землю пришел и тую землю распахивал, либо чем расчищал или занял, також кому би таковая земля через договор и уступку либо по жребию или другим каким-либо правильным образом во владение достался и оною землею либо лемом владел би и владеть безспорно, таковия недвижимия имения имеют бить того, собственния, как бы купленния. (If the one obtains the land, that did not belong to anybody beforehand, he will own this land indisputably as is he had bought it.)[28]". This provision is taken from the Lithuanian Charter (chapter III) "About Freedoms of Nobles"[29]. They are as well present in the Magdeburg Law and Saxon Mirror.

On those facts interesting correlation between official codified law and folk sense of justice can be traced. In the time of settling Slobozhanshchyna provision about seizing (free enter into possession) though was associated in folk sense of justice with ancient custom but in the same time it appeared in official legislation. Despite Lithuanian Charter deals with gentry, it concerns Cossack class as well, as Batorii equalized it in rights with nobles of Rus. By the way perception of provisions of Lithuanian Charter (despite it was created according to the best European standards of European law) as own ancients customs is non-unique case in the history of Ukrainian legal culture.

The third proof of the private ownership rights to seized before lands (but not the right to possess or right of users) of Ukrainian Slobozhanxhchyna peasants during trials of the second half of 19th c. was actual implementation during two centuries of the right to freely dispose of their lands.

So as to the community of sloboda (kind of village) Yamna of Volnovska Volost of Bogodykhivskyi Povit of Kharkiv Province, the case of which was considered in Kharkiv Circuit Court in September 1881, juror attorney Fedir Plevako informed the judges that despite peasants officially had only the right of users of land, in fact "during 18th and first half of 19th c. inhabitants of Yamna were alienating their lands under the purchase deeds, and

the fact that the alienation took place even after 1788 is clear firstly from the fact that instead of 7425 dessiatinas 1506 square sazhen (1 sazhen = 2 meters 13 sm.) in the year of 1871 in possession of peasants of Yamna were already only 6081,7 dessiatinas. And secondly from the fact that inside peasant lands appeared, as it is clear from the plan, many private estates not belonging to the category of peasants' and not being included into cadastre"[30]. The peasants of this sloboda possessed land individually with succession up to 23 March 1841, when they were forced to go over to the communal land ownership.

In the other legal case – by the suit of the community of peasants of the village Cherkasko-Lozova in October – November 1882 – it was mentioned that military inhabitants owned their land "not according to the quantity of souls in each community (society) but by families and inherently. That is to say those lands were divided into lots according to the quantity of families in each community, and such form of ownership constitutes one of the features to consider the lands starozayimochni"[31]. Though later on under the pressure of administration Ukrainian peasants of Slobozhanshchyna were forced to depart from that form of ownership and go over to communal land ownership. Some communities succeeded to preserve the original type of ownership, among them is the community of the village Cherkasko-Lozova. Other documents show the same way of actual ownership by state peasants (former military settlers) as well. In particular in the extract year from the register about the way of ownership in the village Cherkasko-Lozova of Kharkiv district of Derkachivska Volost of 1859 it was indicated that the peasants own adjoining the house lands unequalizingly, arable lands – by starozayimkas (according to the law of the first seizing) unequalizingly, hayfields – by starozayimkas[32].

About actual individual and inherent (but not public) ownership of starozaimani lands it was also spoken during hearings of the case concerning the suit of the community of sloboda Liubotyna of Valkivskyi povit (district). Attorney citizens Borodskyi and Pustovoitov informed, that peasants owned the land unequalizingly by the quantity of souls ("society" – commune) but by families and inherently[33].

In discussion about starozayimochni lands Russian officials used the fact that only small quantity of patents of 17 – 18th centuries was given to concrete people with specification that for certain services they were granted patrimonial ownership of land. But they said, as in the documents of 17th – 18th centuries patrimonial right of Ukrainian peasants – first Slobozhanshchyna settlers – was not indicated precisely, their ownership should have been considered as placed (pomisnyi), that is to say not giving the right to dispose of land (to alienate, to sell, to hand down). It was not taken into account that for Cossacks the term "under Cherkasy customs" which was necessarily mentioned in patents exactly meant individual and hereditary land ownership. In the 18th c. Cossacks did not attach importance to the peculiarities of wording in tsar documents, in particular to distinction of purely Russian legal terms "placed" and "patrimonial" right. The fact of recognition by tsar of their right to settle and manage under their customs was enough for them. It was abstractness and generality of the provisions of patents of 17th – 18th c. that was used after one and a half – two centuries by the officials to refuse, skillfully manipulating historical facts and legal terminology, in recognition of ownership of the lands of descendants of the first Slobozhanshchyna settlers. It was done absolutely not taking into consideration that perfect legal terminology and entirely concrete provisions about private property did not exist yet in 17th – 18th c.

Thus, though starozaimani lands of former Slobidski regiments since the times of Katherine II de-jure were considered public, but in fact, as the data collected by the II Department of His Imperial Majesty Chancellery in the year of 1854 testify, during one and a half centuries peasants used them not under the placed right but under the right of full private property. Military settlers (it was exactly the name of the class of former Cossacks) retained the lands with transition to another rank. They could as well retain old zayimkas and go over to the new unoccupied lands, to sell them not only to their people, that is to say peasants, belonging to the same class, but to outsiders, to give to their daughters as dowry, to pawn, to bequeath it etc[34]. That is to say those legal operations were committed, which were not natural for state peasants.

Resuming, it is necessary to establish a fact that in Slobidska Ukraine among the descendants of Slobozhanshchyna Cossacks (they originally had the name of "military settlers", later on – after general demarcation – "state peasants") there were original land law relations based, on the contrary to the official law, on the custom. Mentioned above group of Ukrainian peasants inhabited so-called "starozaimani" ("starozayimochni") lands. Their ancestors took possession of them in 17th – 18th c. under the right of seizing ("first seizing", jus primae occupationis). Among the descendants of those people ("starozayimochnyks") during two centuries in fact customary legal norms of land disposal were preserved: the land was sold, bequeathed, pawned, given to their daughters as dowry etc. They retained ownership of that land even with their transition to the other social status or rank. That was absolutely at variance with the official law regulations, in particular with the Provision about state peasants. By this mentioned above group of Ukrainian peasants differed from the other kinds of Slobozhanshchyna owners (individual farmstead holders and landlords, on the one hand, – mainly Russian servicemen of different ranks and their descendants, and serf peasants (both Ukrainians and Russians), which after the 1861 reform were included into the class of state peasants as well).

19th century was characterized by special stirring up in juridical sphere, activization of codification work, working out single juridical terminology. This process was accompanied by wide discussions both in scientific circles and state departments. Second half of 19th c. is characterized by considerable increase of sense of justice in the highest circles of that time society. Due to activization of work of the barristers this process roused as well people's sense of justice of Slobozhanshchyna peasants reviving in the memory events of bicentenary remoteness, when their ancestors had been settling wild field lands according to the right of the first seizing. Having studied the materials related to the trials dedicated to the suits of Slobozhanshchyna village communities, the conclusion about conservatism of people's sense of justice can be made. Until there was no threat of violation of the custom, the "starozayimochnyks" were completely satisfied with the life in the situation of dual law: de jure they managed in the state's land but de facto – in their own. But in the extreme situation – when they had to redeem their own land, – historical memory and sense of justice, in particular in people's consideration of succession, are livened up.

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[1] Юридична енциклопедія. – Т. 2. – Київ, 1999. – С. 467. Старозаимочныя земли. Решения Харьковского окружного суда, по искам крестьянских обществ к Харьковской казенной палате о старозаимочных землях, с приложением жалованных Слободским полкам грамот и других документов. Издание Николая Чижевского. – Харьков, 1883. – С. 16.

[2] Старозаимочныя земли. Решения Харьковского окружного суда, по искам крестьянских обществ к Харьковской казенной палате о старозаимочных землях, с приложением жалованных Слободским полкам грамот и других документов. Издание Николая Чижевского. – Харьков. 1883. – С. 16.

[3] All these materials were issued in 19th c. See: Сборник решений, состязательных бумаг, грамот, указов и других документов, относящихся к вопросу о старозаимочном землевладении в местности бывшей Слободской Украйны (Материалы к истории старозаимочного землевладения, извлеченные из так называемых старозаимочных процессов, производящихся в судебных учреждениях Харьковского округа). Составил В.В.Гуров при участии Е.К.Бродского. – Харьков, 1884; О старозаимочном землевладении из местности бывших слободских полков: Свод материалов по изданию закона 17 мая 1899 г. Издание Министерства юстиции. – С.Петербург. – 1904; Старозаимочныя земли. Решения Харьковского окружного суда, по искам крестьянских обществ к Харьковской казенной палате о старозаимочных землях, с приложением жалованных Слободским полкам грамот и других документов. Издание Николая Чижевского. – Харьков, 1883; Историко-статистическое описание Харьковской епархии. Отделение I. Краткий обзор епархии и монастыри: Издание в пользу Харьковского духовного училища девиц. – Харьков, 1859.

[4] See: Central Historical State Archive in Kyiv: F. 1072 "Производство Харьковской судебной палаты по первому гражданскому департаменту", F. 1856 "Старобельский уездный суд" О старозаимочном крестьянском землевладении. – С. 43.

[5] О старозаимочном крестьянском землевладении. – С. 43; Грамота 1 сентября 1705 г. Сумскому полковнику Кондратьеву. – Старозаимочные земли. – С. 116 – 117.

[6] Грамота 1 сентября 1705 г. Сумскому полковнику Кондратьеву. – Старозаимочные земли. – С. 116 – 117. First demarcation instruction of Elisabeth I of 15 May 1754 is not taken into account as it was not implemented. See: О старозаимочном землевладении. – С. 265.

[7] First demarcation instruction of Elisabeth I of 15 May 1754 is not taken into account as it was not implemented. See: О старозаимочном землевладении. – С. 265. The texts are contained in collection: О старозаимочном землевладении... – С. 573 – 578.

[8] The texts are contained in collection: О старозаимочном землевладении... – С. 573 – 578.

[9] By the decision of State Council (Государственный Совет) "state labour rent is transformed from the 1 January 1887 into redeem payments". Cited after: О старозаимочном землевладении... – С. 26.

[10] Materials of the case see: Старозаимочные земли... – С. 37 – 38.

[11] Леонтьев А.А. Крестьянское право: Систематическое изложение особенностей законодательства о крестьянах. – С.Петербург. – 1909. – С. 232.

[12] О старозаимочном крестьянском землевладении. – С. 3 – 4.

[13] Ibid. – С. 4.

[14] See in particular: "Сборник судебных решений...", where absolutely falsified provisions about the history of settling Slobozhanshchyna are revealed.

[15] See: Неволин. История Российского гражданского законодательства. Т. IV. – С. 3, comment 2.

[16] Сборник судебных решений... – С. 66 – 146.

[17] Ibid. – С. 113.

[18] Ibid. – С. 113 – 114.

[19] Кониский Г. Історія Русов или Малой России. – Москва, 1846 (reprinted edition. – Київ., 1991). – С. 226.

[20] Грамота 1 сентября 1705 г. Сумскому полковнику Кондратьеву... – С. 116

[21] Выпись из дела Поместного Приказа по челобитью 26 февраля 1686 г., о наделениях Яменских Черкас землею. – Старозаимочные земли... – С. 92.

[22] Грамота 17 февраля 1682 г. – Сборник судебных решений... – С. 137.
[23] Историко-статистическое описание Харьковской епархии. Отделение I. Краткий обзор епархии и монастыри. Отделение III. – Харьков. – 1862. – С. 407.
[24] Д.Яворницький.
[25] ПСЗ. – Т. 1. – № 119.
[26] Грамота 1 сентября 1705 г. Сумскому полковнику Кондратьеву... – С. 116.
[27] Усенко І.Б. Звичай правовий // Юридична енциклопедія – Т.2. – Київ, 1999. – С. 568.
[28] Права, за якими судиться… – С. 48.
[29] Ibid. – Табл. № 1. – С. XVII.
[30] Старозаимочные земли… – С. 3 – 4.
[31] Ibid. – P. 22.
[32] Гуров. – С. 676.
[33] Старозаимочные… – С. 64.
[34] Ibid. – С. 34.

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ЗВИЧАЄВО-ПРАВОВІ УЯВЛЕННЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ ЩОДО ЗЕМЕЛЬНОГО ПРАВА У XIX СТОЛІТТІ (за матеріалами судових справ щодо старозаїмочних земель Слобожанщини)

У статті на основі архівних матеріалів простежено основні етапи правових уявлень українців Слобожанщини щодо власності на так звані старозаймані (старозаїмочні) землі. Акцент зроблений на XIX ст., коли в ході судових розглядів виникла широка дискусія щодо того, чи мають українці-слобожани право власності на землю, чи лише право володіння і користування. XIX ст. цікаве ще й тим, що в цей час у селянській правосвідомості ожили давні уявлення, пов'язані з українським осадним звичаєвим правом, а також переконання, що вільнозаймані землі, оброблені з цілини, зеселені "з кореню" є приватною власністю нащадків козаків Слобідських полків.

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RESEARCHING FOLK TRADITION IN THE 21st CENTURY

Collecting and researching folklore and other tradition of today offer us new challenges and new possibilities. The tradition itself has changed, some things have disappeared and some new things have come instead. New technology gives us new alternative ways to collect and handle the research material.

We usually regard the *tradition* as something old and old-fashion, as relic of a world passed-by. Folk habits, beliefs, riddles and tales which are thought to be the folk tradition and folklore, are something, which belonged in the life of our forefathers. Older people perhaps remember it, but it has nothing to do with the life of a modern person. When you are researching this kind of tradition, you have to go to traditional archives or perhaps interview senior citizens.

Researchers have collected many kinds of traditional material in archives. For example, we in Finland have a respectable amount of folk poetry, folk songs, spells, proverbs and riddles in the folklore archive of the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura). Many interesting things about the way of living in past can be discovered from the caches of archives, but also raises many questions, which cannot be answered any more. The missing information of archive material, for example how some traditional poems was really used and by whom, are lost for ever. Of course, sometimes it is possible to get a part of this information from other sources, like folk poetry collectors' diaries etc.

Another way to get information about everyday life and its practises in past, is to interview old people, ask them about their childhood memories and stories told by their parents and grandparents. Asking more questions can later complete the material collected in this way, if you don't wait too long. This method to collect the material for research there has its problems, too. You have to find informants who have lived their childhood in the area you are interested in. In old times, people lived their whole life in the same area, perhaps in the same house. However, nowadays people move many times during their life. If you have met a willing informant with good memory, but he/she has lived his/her childhood in the "wrong" place, you cannot use his/her interview. It can also be difficult to get answers to certain questions. Like anyone else, older people can also take defensive attitude toward some questions that they feel delicate, so they rather quibble than answer. Moreover, the memory is, of course, quite discriminating. It seems to be easier to remember things, in which for example one's own relatives appear in positive light. At least, everyone of us likes rather telling about such things.

Folk tradition today

When you are looking more closely at the modern life, you can find much more traditional material than you first could imagine. Even many ways of thinking are coming from old ways of living. Many models of family or work life, especially thoughts about special women's and men's works, have came from agrarian society, but they are so deep in our mind, that they have begun to feel somehow "natural". For example Sinikka Vakimo has researched this kind of tradition. Her dissertation dealt with cultural conceptions of old women and their life practises[1].

There is also clearer folk tradition nowadays. I don't mean only the cherishing the heritage of the past, by wearing folk costumes, singing folk songs and dancing folk dances in traditional festivals. This kind of use of folk tradition we can see on national jubilees, when we want to underline our characteristic native and be proud of the past of our people. Sometimes this kind of folklore is "artificial" and it's used for tourism. It is possible to create new "old happenings", like medieval feasts. There you can eat medieval food and listen to medieval music with the host, who is a person from history or folk poetry. You can also see native persons in folk costumes, dressed for tourists, making their chores by old means. This all is coaxing customers to memorable events, where they feel to be free from day-to-day routines. These events can be placed in a restaurant, it can be a tourist centre in Lapland or a certain (annual) period in old towns, like the Medieval Weeks in Turku (Finland), Tallinn (Estonia) or Visby (Sweden). This can be called folklorism, which is a quite interesting, but not very much researched area in folk tradition. Swedish Lotten Gustafsson has written about Medieval Weeks in Visby in her dissertation[2].

Some customs and traditions are used in many personal festivities, too. Without old customs, the celebration is

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though not to be whole. For example, weddings are occasions, where you think it is important to follow some traditional habits. Most couples want to cut the wedding cake and dance the wedding waltz, although their wedding party would be only a small event for close relatives or friends. When a great wedding party is organised, one must pay attention to a lot of customs from the clothing style of bride, groom and wedding quests to the throwing of the wedding bouquet. This kind of tradition belongs to weddings so much, that also the couples of same sex want to use many of these customs in their registration party. (Registration of couples of same sex has been possible in Finland since 1.3.2002, and the Finnish Literature Society is now collecting this celebration tradition, too.) In Finland, it has nowadays become popular to play games in weddings. Some of these games are old social games.

There are also many non-rational features from past in our personal lives. Our forefathers were ignorant and superstitious, we are not; but why we are frightened when a black cat runs across the street, when we consider the meaning of an exceptional dream or read the horoscopes. A student, boasting with his/her modernity and scientific mind, takes care that he/she has the special pendant around his/her neck or the lucky pencil with him/her, when he/she leaves home for an exam.

New folklore

There seems also to be quite new folklore. One category of such includes urban legends (or, contemporary legends), which are part of our everyday talk, where ever some people have some time for talking. In Finland, for example, the late professor Leea Virtanen has researched urban legends and she has collected them in books[3]. The urban legends tell about absurd events accompanied by disappearing hitchhikers, microphones in soviet hotels, stories of how mobile telephones are causing accidents in the aeroplanes or disturb the medical equipment in hospitals, and how refugees from foreign countries make a campfire in the middle of their living-room and wash clothes is toilet bowl or get enormous sums of money from social security office. These stories make the listeners shudder: “This can’t be true, but there is no smoke without fire…” There are also urban legends telling about some humiliating incidents, which make the listener think: “How embarrassing! I’m glad, it wasn’t I.”

Another new form of folklore is a clue story. One of the participants tells a short story, for example:

> A doctor promises to pay to a homeless quite a lot of money for amputating his arm. He keeps the homeless living with him, gives him good food and a manicure. After a couple of weeks he amputates the arm, gives the homeless his money and sends the arm by post to another man. That man opens the package, smiles with satisfaction and then throws the arm away. – So, what is going on? What has happened?

Now the listeners have to think what on earth could have happened. At first they ask questions, and the story-teller has to answer *yes* or *no*. They make guesses, and eventually they ask the storyteller to reveal the settlement. For example, Swedish folklorist Bengt af Klintberg has written (in Swedish) about these clue stories in his book *Kuttrasju*[4]. Moreover, if you want to know the solution to this clue story, here it comes:

> The doctor has been in a shipwreck and spent weeks in a lifeboat with another man. They didn’t have any food, and that’s why they decided to eat one arm from both. They began with the arm of another man, but they were saved before the time game to cut the doctor’s arm. The doctor had to promise to cut off his arm and send it to the other man, so they both would lose one arm. However, the doctor didn’t want to lose his arm, and that’s why he cheated by sending the arm of the homeless.

There is also other new “folk tradition”, like text messages on mobile telephones and e-mail. One of the most interesting area of new folklore is role-playing games, in which the players combine folk tradition, popular culture and fiction, reality of history and everyday life and use a lot of imagination.

Role-playing gaming is born ”officially” on 1974, when the first commercial role-playing game rules were published in the USA. The rules of the first role playing games were modified from earlier war game’s rules. But the spirit of role playing games was inspired by fantasy literature, especially by J.R.R.Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*. In Finland they have played role-playing games from the end of the 70´s. The very first devotees have found the games while being as exchange students in the USA or they have read advertisements of games on American magazines about strategy games or science fiction. At first, this hobby was very rare, but it became more common in the second half of the 80’s.

In role playing games, players will take the roles of their characters and they will try to think as the character would. In tabletop role playing games the whole adventure takes place in the imagination of the playgroup. Players can be sitting around the table all the time and just talk, and every now and then cast dice. Another way to play role playing games is LARP (live action role play), which means, that the players take the roles of their playing characters physically, too. It is like acting without audience. Typical tabletop role-player in Finland is a young man aged between fifteen to twenty-five, but there are also younger players, even under ten years (mostly taken along by older brother) and adult men over thirty years, who have played for ten or fifteen years. The are

also female players, about twenty per cent of all. In LARP games, there are both male and female players, about half-and-half.

However, there is nothing new under the sun. All this new and living tradition contains among the new elements also echoes from the past. Urban legends use many theme of old folk tales, perhaps in new forms. A car now replaces the horse and cart, and the treasure shown by an *ignis fatuus* (a mysterious flame in the swamp) can be a great win in sweepstakes. But there still remain disappearing persons near graveyards or murder places, suspicious attitude towards foreigners and many familiar grotesque events. The clue stories are using material from riddles and ghost stories, in text messages on mobile telephones and e-mails they can use new forms of chain letters. Even in role-playing gaming, there can be very much old Finnish tradition, although the origin of these games is American. Especially in those games, which are situated in past, for example romanticised Middle Ages, the characters can use old spells and charms, which the players have read from books, like Kalevala.

Researching living folklore

If you have material for research taken from an archive, you can use this material only, usually without any possibility to complete it. This is really a limited researching material. When using present day material you could, in principal, collect it forever and ever. A phenomenon you are researching can be changing all the time, like usually the living tradition is. How can you be sure, that you have enough material for research? There is one good rule: when added material gives no more new information, you can stop collecting. However, the object of research is usually multiform. Usually the research is limited in time and financially, and it's not possible to use endlessly time for collecting the research material. The researcher has to make the decision of the limits of his/her researching material.

We must also admit, that it is impossible to see the world around us as clearly as we can see the past. The history written in books is simplified. Afterwards it is easier to see wholenesses and great lines. In the world, we are living in, everything is multiform and can not be explained by one or two sentences. The researcher has to admit that not all phenomena can be wholly explained in our time.

Saving folklore of today?

When researching folklore of today you have also to think, what is important to save and perhaps worth researching in future. There is no more singers of tales, but is there now something else instead? Which could be the measuring instruments for the value of tradition or should we even have any? Are there any special tradition genres which a great value? Is the older tradition always more valuable than newer?

Perhaps we should try to record all possible for that case, that researchers in future are interested in such things. We really can't know, what's in topic of researchers' interests after one hundred years. It is sure, they hope to get information of everyday life of today, and not the last echoes from the 1800's, as Pekka Kuusi wrote already in the end of 1970's[5].

However, it is impossible to fill the archives with tapes with "everything" of everyday life of today. First, everything can not be collected anyway. Secondly, where in the world could we put all the recordings nobody ever used, which have been archived only for coming generations? It is not enough just to record something and put the tape into archive's cupboard for waiting to a possible user. When the conditions of preservation are not very good, the possible coming user can find just rubbish, which cannot be used any more, because all the information has destroyed. It is quite expensive to build good archives, which really keep the recordings and other material. However, it is not sure at all, that the researchers in future even have such equipment they need for opening old recordings and files. We have problems even now with many old recordings, because old tape recorders or even more older reproduction machines are broken and not prepared or manufactured any more, and some recordings simply can't be opened.

New tools in collecting modern tradition

The conventional way to collect folklore and other tradition is the interview. The first collectors had to write up the speech of informants, later it could be recorded on wax cylinders, tapes, mini-discs and videotapes. However, we also have an another good way to collect researching material, and that is to make the informants write. When using this mean, you have two possibilities: send the questionary out and hope someone will answer, or seek out the informants first and send questionnaires straight to them. In first case, the questions are often published in paper(s), big newspapers or magazines for certain profession, society or hobby. In second case, the informants can be sought out by announcements or you can use existing informant nets, as for example the Finnish Literature Society regularly does.

When collecting literally material, you can simply make a list of questions you want to get the answers, that can even be a form with alternatives. More common and often more useful is to use theme writings (the concept

has been taken in use by Satu Apo[6]. You give the informants some questions, but not for answered yes or no, but for inspiration of writing. In my study, I have found this a very good method to collect excellent material.

It's also possible to analyse the research material with computer. For example, professor Lauri Harvilahti has done this in his doctoral dissertation in 1992[7]. He analysed the frequencies of certain worlds and formulas in Ingrian epic poetry. That work would have been impossible without using computers.

Nowadays, there are also new instruments for collecting research material. We can, for example, use photos, videos and web sites as researching material. Computers offer us an excellent mean to collect researching material by e-mail. The informant can write the text at home, revise as much as he/she wants and send it to researcher by pressing the button. It's also easy to send more questions for clarification, and you can have the answers on the same day. Earlier, some people didn't want to write because of their poor handwriting. A great change has happened in writing, when computers have become popular. Writing with computer is easy after a little learning. Courses for using computer are organised almost in every village. In Finland, we even have some new authors and poets, just because they can now write with machine instead of writing with pencil. All kinds of tape recorders are quite cheap and are often found at home. So it's possible to recorder the speech and send the tape to collector/researcher. This possibility is now used as an alternative for writing to tradition and/or memory collecting competitions.

For the End

It is a bit difficult to see tradition in one's own time. The tradition itself has changed, some things have disappeared and some new things have come instead. New tools in collecting research material bring new methodological challenges for methods, too. When looking at the research of today we have to be open to new points of view and we must be ready to create new theories. There are many questions in researching new tradition. I cannot give the answers, but I hope I made you think about them.

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ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ НАРОДНОЇ ТРАДИЦІЇ В XXI СТОЛІТТІ

Ми часто розглядаємо традицію, як щось старе, старомодне, релікт минулого. Тобто народні звичаї, вірування, загадки і оповідання, які, як вважається, є народною традицією і фольклором, є чимось, що належало нашим предкам. Однак, коли уважніше подивитись на сучасне життя, то можна знайти набагато більше традиційного матеріалу, ніж це можна було спочатку собі уявити. Навіть багато способів мислення походять від старого способу життя, а деякі звичаї і традиції використовуються у багатьох особистих святах, наприклад, одруженні.

Також існує й новий фольклор. Однією з його форм є міські легенди. До нової народної традиції також належать текстові повідомлення на мобільних телефонах і електронній пошті. Однією з найцікавіших галузей нового фольклору є рольові ігри, в яких гравці поєднують фольклорну традицію, народну культуру, реалії історії, повсякденного життя, використовуючи багату уяву.

Нові технічні засоби збору дослідницького матеріалу також призводять до методологічних змін в методах роботи. Ми можемо, наприклад, використовувати фото, відео, веб-сторінки як матеріал дослідження. Також можливо аналізувати матеріал за допомогою комп'ютера. Комп'ютери пропонують нам чудову можливість збирати матеріал за допомогою електронної пошти.

Дослідження нових традицій ставить багато запитань. Спостерігаючи сьогоднішні дослідження, ми маємо бути відкритими до нових точок зору і бути готовими створювати нові теорії. В цій статті я пропоную тільки деякі питання але не відповіді.

Valentyna BORYSENKO
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FAMINE IN UKRAINE, 1932 – 1933 (on the basis of oral testimonies)

The historically known three famines in Ukraine of 1923 – 1923, 1932 – 1933 and 1946 – 1947 that have been carried out by Red Moscow were a planned criminal action against the Ukrainian nation. This fact has been substantiated by numerous documents and verbal testimonies.

However, even to this date, some falsifiers are striving to explain the famine of 1921 – 1923 and 1946 – 1947 as being caused by drought in southern regions of Ukraine – a fact that does not agree with real-life conditions. Ukraine is so geographically located that a dry season in some areas is always compensated by large precipitations in others and, therefore, can never be the cause of famine. There exists documental proof that during these hungry years bread (=grain) was exported from Ukraine.

The most terrible and most cruel famine of 1932 – 1933 was simply not talked about as it was an obvious political repression against the Ukrainian ethnos – genocide to which the world can not be indifferent because of its horrible nature. Even at that time grain was available in Ukraine – it was exported and even destroyed so as to starve the Ukrainian people.

Seventy years have already passed since that tragic time in the history of our nation, however, the wounds remain open ...

Anthony D.Smith, Professor of Sociology at the London University, defines in his work “National Identity” two phenomena of the destruction of the ethnos: the genocide and the ethnocide. Under the genocide, the author discusses such cases, when it is known that mass deaths of a cultural group have pre-planned ahead of time, and that the underlying cause of such intent was the existence of such cultural group. Anthony D.Smith defines ethnocide as “cultural swallowing-up and ethnic inter-mixing”.

Student Interviews of the 1932 – 1933 Famine Survivors

Both these methods of destruction of the ethnos of Ukrainians were applied in the 20th century by the Bolshevik government of Russia. There is no analogy in this world for such cruel crime against the Ukrainian people.

Of course, during the rule of the “Soviets”, the subject matter of the famine of the Ukrainians was taboo. Initial publications about the famine in Ukraine appeared abroad. One such book was the well-known work of Robert Conquest “*The Harvest of Sorrow*” (1993). [Translation from English edition: Robert Conquest. *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* – New York; Oxford, 1986 and others]. A series of documents was also published during the years of the Independence of Ukraine proving that the famine of the Ukrainian peasantry during 1932 – 1933 was a deliberately planned extermination of millions of innocent victims. Most of these were children and persons of advanced age[1].

At present, the most urgent task is to collect testimonies of persons who themselves survived the famine and witnessed martyrs’ deaths of their kin. Such witnesses were 10 – 15 years old at that time. They will never forget these events until they die. Their number, however, is steadily decreasing. When that time comes, we will have lost very a valuable source of information of oral history. But most importantly, present students and future historians can themselves realistically evaluate the truths and untruths and learn their own history from first sources.

Students of the History Department of the Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University gathered testimonies about the famine mainly in villages of the areas (= oblasts) of Kyiv, Cherkassy, Chemihiv, Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Poltava, Sumy and Kirovohrad. The students were using a program-questionnaire specially designed for that purpose. They were assigned to geographic areas predicated on their own origin or that of their parents or relatives

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in order to make it easier to establish contacts and to open channels of communication. It is a known fact, that even to this day, fear is pervasive among the population. The majority is still very hesitant to give their first and last names to strangers, especially when they see that their comments are to be recorded on paper or by a recording device.

The survey was conducted by one hundred and fifty (150) third-year students and fifteen (15) second-year students. Each of them interviewed 5 – 10 persons. The overall number of those surveyed exceeds nine hundred (900) persons. The testimonies about the famine fall into two categories: the first is from the oldest persons, who themselves lived and survived it and remember horrors of these events, the second constitutes tales of parents, relatives and neighbours of the new generation that was born after the famine but who had lost relatives. The first category outweighs the second. The first-hand testimonies about the Famine in Ukraine are by persons who were 10 – 15 years old at that time and who are eighty (80) years and older at present.

Preliminary generalizations of the collected materials make it possible to uncover facts not heretofore known – versions connected with the Famine in Ukraine in 1932 – 1933. They also confirm and irrefutably prove the greatest crime in human civilization – extermination of a nation by means of martyrs' deaths. These testimonies also contain materials of oral history of the 1946 – 1947 famine, however, these are subject to separate publications and conclusions.

As to the causes of the famine – we have learned from oral recalls of the villagers (= peasants) who unanimously testify that in 1932 the grain harvest was good. "The harvest was not bad so that no one should have died from hunger. Any stored reserves that we had – the authorities took them away. They dug up everything, some beans, any barley, they rummaged in every nook and cranny..." "They are saying that the famine was planned because the harvests were good" (village of Bokhonyky, oblast' Vinnytsia). The oral testimonies contain two major fundamental versions as to the causes of the famine. The most widespread assertion is that "at that time they especially made the famine in order that Ukraine die out ..." and "Stalin did that deliberately in order for people to die out, to starve, and so that they would more readily join the collective farms...", "It is that accursed torturer Stalin who caused the Last Judgment". However, there are cases that people think that "in principle, it was the locals that caused the famine, the ones on top did not know anything about it". But there are not too many such latter opinions. An example of the testimony from a village in the Kirovohrad oblast: "There were such "buksirs". They went from house to house and took everything: beans, barley, corn. They even rummaged in baking ovens and took everything, everything. Even clothes. It was an organized gang. We knew them very well, because they lived like street people, and were lazy and stupid, did not do anything, they only robbed ..."

It would be appropriate to mention that, at that time, a new terminology came into use; strictly popular names of representatives of the government, who used particularly violent tactics against the population. Thus, in some villages of the surveyed oblasts, there were local denominations that reflect the flavour of that time. There names of such types are *obkhodchyky* (because they came back to the house several times in a month), *komsomols, activists, brigadists, party-men, murderers, komisia, gang, red broom, komizans* (from komnezamy), strikers (because they used steel rods and dug everywhere to find food), collectors, red gangs, etc. Here are some testimonies: "There were also those "party men" – the devil with them – they were your own kind. They even swept crumbs off the tables." (Village of Krasnosilla in the Cherkasy oblast').

According to the testimonies of living witnesses, the brigades made their rounds starting in autumn 1932 and also in winter. When they saw that someone was not swollen with hunger they returned time and time again and always searched for hidden food stores. As a rule, they came in groups of seven to ten men so that any resistance was impossible especially since so many men have already been arrested beforehand. These "brave men" dealt mostly with women and children. Petro Luchko, (born in 1924) from the village of Pzpruddyz of the Rokytyah region, Kyiv oblast' testifies as follows: "In the years 1932 – 1933 there was artificial famine in Ukraine. There were special brigades – "red teams" who shook out all bread. Even the head of the collective farm went along with them .... People were beaten and seated on hot pans, while being interrogated as to where they were hiding bread. Took away cows and horses and starved them to death."

Here is a testimony from village of Mala Vyska from Kirovohrad oblast: "They were searching for bread (grain) and when they could not find any they then took anything that they could lay their hands on – clothes, embroidered towels... We were calling them gangs because quite often, in order to find out where the grain was, they beat people mercilessly.

As told by eyewitnesses from Kirovohrad, the "buksirs" were conducting the searches: "My mother had money hidden in her hair-braids which they found and took away." Here is a testimony of Halyna Pavluj, (born in 1912) from village of Kyselivka, Nosivsky region, Chenihiv oblast': "They arrested my father because he did not pay up all demands. Mother was left with four children. She begged for alms. Mother wept into the cradle of little Havrylo. She put some grain under her skirt. They found it and took it... With their sticks they checked out all walls and shelves."

There are very many examples of such atrocities. They did not spare the old or the young – contrary to the traditional moral behaviour of normal people. Subsequently there followed something of a mass dulling-off, an indifference and hatred.

One can find among the tales that some people saw in the exploited ones as semi-slaves. They saw it as "that accursed Stalin ordered to punish us poor folks because some did not want willingly join the collectives" (village of Mykhailivka, Chernihiv oblast'). It does not occur frequently, but one meets cases as if there is a justification for the actions of the komsomols. Here is a testimony from the Kirovohrad oblast': "The komsomols went around in order to take away anything that was edible. If they had smart parents they were told that they, the komcomols should pretend not to see anything in the house – to look around and to leave. They were ordered to go around – if not – they would be considered enemies of the people. Besides, they had education ..."

Still and all, most accusations are against the "local crooks, thieves".

The authorities stooped to such methods as bribing individual persons and setting up one person against another. "Already in winter, when people started swelling from hunger, it was announced that if anyone lets it be known who has hidden grain, that person will receive a portion of the found grain." (Hanchenko, born in 1915, Nosiv region, Chernihiv oblast').

People suffered from poverty from 1929 – 1930 on, but the real famine started during the cold autumn of 1932. The first action was directed to search, to help, primarily by honest means. They took out of the houses almost all of their clothing, the cherchiefs, embroidered towels and went to Russia and to Byelorus', where there was no famine, and tried to barter away their belongings for food. These themes are repeated in the tales of eyewitnesses. As testifies inhabitant (born in 1905) from the village of Popravka, of the White Church region, Kyiv oblast': "My husband went to Russia to exchange clothing for food. He took away all our clothing. He brought back a pud (35 lbs.) of potatoes, flour. At that time, many people from the village travelled that way. When Semeon went away for the third time, nobody who went with him, came back. So the three of us were left: Wasyl', Sonya [children] and myself. I and a cousin worked in a closet all winter long. We used to stuff into the boots all kinds of grass ... and my little Wasyl' died and how Sonya cried ..."

The non-return of the husband and of others who went away to exchange clothes for food meant their physical destruction. There are constant testimonies of many persons about the elimination of their relatives. What is more important, even if a few were lucky enough to return, even then their successful barter was doomed to the arbitrariness of the authorities. Natalia Tutyk (born in 1923) from the village of Zapruddya, Rokytnyansky region, Kyiv oblast', testifies as follows: "After we were disenfranchised, my father went as far as Kherson to exchange kerchiefs for a pud (16 kg) of flour. He brought back the flour, but the local "collectivisators" took it away."

They also interrogated children. Natalia Tutyk witnesses: "I used to came back from school and the "strikers" (those who forced people into collective farms) asked me where my father was hiding the buckwheat. I told them that I did not know. It was hidden in the attic, mixed in with chaff. Then the strikers took everything, chaff and all, to the last grain kernel ..."

Thus it became apparent that survival was impossible by means of barter of articles for food. However, in order to completely exclude such possibility, the authorities decided to take away all things that could be used for barter. Such peasant chattel consisted primarily of jackets, coats, (sheepskin) coats, embroidered towels and kerchiefs. All that was confiscated and carted away to communal storehouses where it was eventually wasted ("whistled away") on vodka. Eyewitnesses testify to this, as for example, Sofia Zdoryk (born in 1925) from the village of Popravka, Bilotserkva region, Kyiv oblast': "During the hunger people were stripped of their clothing and the "comisans" or "comizans" as they were called, put it into a storehouse. And there were such as Andronika Onyska, and others, who exchanged clothing for drink from the "comisans". My mother told my father that he too should exchange something with them because he worked at the storehouse. But my father said did not want to because those were human tears ..."

In the fall of 1932 a second means of rescue was directed to escape to the city – but it was unsuccessful. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses: "Many people tried to move to other places but they were fined at the railroad stations and forced to return..." (village of Nosivka, Chemihiv oblast'). "A person could not leave the village without the passport (Ed. note: everyone had to have "papers")." Even though the second chance was also unrealistic, since no one was let out of the villages, people tried to used it until their last breath. We thus have many attestations that most persons who died in spring of 1933 were found lying close to the railroad stations. They died, not having had the physical strength to reach the dreamt-of escape. Thus the iron ring of famine closed up on them.

The peasantry of the central and eastern oblasts of Ukraine was doomed to die. The means of survival could no longer adhere to honest rules. It became necessary to the theft of grain from the collective pantries but even that became almost impossible since, according to testimonies, "threshing floors, pantries and fields were protected by NKVD (secret police) officers." For the theft of 3 kg of grain one was sentenced to prison, to deportation, as a rule, without any hope of return.

People frequently recall about a working “law of five [grain]ears”. An inhabitant (born in 1915) of the village of Makiivka, Nosivsky region, Chemihiv oblast’, recalls: “There was a law of the “five ears”. My father went to jail for it. And he never returned.”

However, at that time in many cases authorities did not bother to send people to jail – they simply killed them on the spot without any inquiry or trial. There are very many such attestations. Here are some examples: “They killed my son who carried away from the communal plot one water melon and one pumpkin. The supervisors shot them on the spot ...” (from the Kirovohrad region). Another witness from the village of Bokhonyky (Vinnitsia region): “Some man was so very, very hungry. He pulls into a bag some beet tops, those “comesans” caught him, killed, dragged him to a pit near the river. Thus no one even buried him ....”. Arbitrary courts and sentencing were typical occurrences of the day.

Based on numerous testimonies one can draw certain generalizations as to who had a chance to survive and did not go hungry during 1932 – 1933. These were primarily the managers of the collectives: the supervisors, group leaders, store supervisors, families of Red Army commandants. Theodosij Herasymenko (born in 1926) from the village of Baybuzy, Shpolansky region, Cherkassy oblast’ testifies: “I did not know hunger as such. My father was the head of the collective farm. There was plenty to eat. I was young at that time, I heard about the famine but was never hungry... We kept one cow, one pig, ate bread. We did not wear linen...” One must bear in mind that clothing such as shirts, petticoats, made from home spun-linen was worn by the majority of peasants (villagers) – local authorities could be differentiated in that they wore factory-made clothing. One inhabitant (born in 1927) from the village of Didovychi, Novohrad-Volyn’ region, Zhytomyr oblast’, relates: “My mother took me and my two sisters to our grandmother in the next village. One of her sons was a commandant in the Red Army and thus the authorities did not touch her or her house. Because of it, we re remained alive...” Another testimony from the same village: “Our whole family survived that period because my older brother Mykola worked in the granary of the collective ...sometimes he brought barley, sometimes flour...”

When villages were located close to a town or to large settlements, where there were sugar processing plants, distilleries, brick factories or other such facilities, people could sneak out at night to gather potato peels or leftovers. And when someone from the family worked in such factory, there was greater chance of survival. There are testimonies that those who worked in a factory lived better, because they received rations.

Thus, those who had access to food, constituted about one-fourth of a village. The other three-fourths were condemned to a slow, torturous death. Since all foodstuffs were taken away, all that remained is to eat things that were considered off-limits. There are mass testimonies to the fact that people ate wild and domestic animals and birds, cats, dogs, pigeons, sparrows, crows, mice, and animals that died in the collectives. In the spring they ate snakes and hedgehogs. Those who lived close to the river of South Buh (in the Podolia) caught fish from canoes. Fish was also caught in secret from fisheries and eaten raw so that it would not be taken away. Hedgehogs were baked alive in the ovens to get rid of their needles. An inhabitant of the village of Rozdolnoe, Nosivsky region, Chemihiv oblast’, says: “we baked a she-hedgehog in the oven, she had six little ones inside – there is nothing we could do, we ate them all”.

From plant life people ate tree barks, leaves and flowers of linden trees. One even baked cookies made from linden-tree flowers. They ate rotten potatoes that were gathered from the fields in spring, they ate pigweeds, cat tails, nettles, nightshade, cattle cake, steamed and ground-up chaff, roots of dogs’ grass, leaves of beets, flowers of white acacia, acoms, brewers’ mash, sugar-beet residue. A woman from the Kirovohrad region says: “children went to the (sugar beet) residue pit, scraped out the dry stuff and at home it was mixed in with grain sift-outs or with steamed chaff and baked into “motorzhenyky” (nickname of cookies).

Nina Sloska (born in 1923), an inhabitant of the village of Stepivka, Kirovohrad oblast’, relates: “Our mother went away for food and perished somewhere. There remained three of us, me and two little brothers. We ate acoms, weeds ... we were swollen, a very smelly fluid oozed from our legs. There still stands before my eyes that aunt who did not give us bread, and they had plenty...”

A woman from the village of Stepivka, Kirovohrad oblast’, says: “When the green rye came out from under the snow in spring we baked scones from it – if we could steal the grain from the collective. We baked them for our sister because she was very ill ... Many were exiled to Siberia for stealing the green rye. Somebody squealed on us about it and my sister was so frightened that she died and the scones were given to the grave-diggers at the funeral...”

However, funerals according to the traditional rituals were conducted even less during the winter when people began dying en-masse. At the beginning the died in houses, died-out by whole families, and there was no one to bury them according to Christian rite. Some ethnographic surveys attest to the daily losses of people. It is known that there was a wide-spread superstition, that if there was a dead, unburied person in the village, one could not pickle vegetables, as they would not keep and would not be edible, because of bad taste and smell. As related by Hiakeria Prysiazhenko (born in 1928) from the Cherkassy oblast’: “Our father managed to buy some turnips for

pickling. We were dicing them and eating them because if mother left the farm and heard about a deceased one, – and if one hears about it to one cannot do the pickling...”

In some localities people were buried without any rites into gulches, into pits, into common graves in cemeteries, and into pits for potatoes or turnips. Wasyl’ Tushchenko (born in 1926) relates: “My grandfather, grandmother, aunt died in 1933. One could not leave the [burial] pit, if one left it for a short time, someone else would have been thrown in...”

There are many testimonies to the fact that in the spring of 1933, when people started dying in droves, even those who lived but could not move, were thrown into the pits together with the dead. Some examples follow:

Liubov Kurinna (born in 1919), from the Cherkassy oblast’, relates: “They were carting the dead to the collectives and threw them into the pit without any clothes and they still moved. Motrya Bakalyna, somehow, climbed out. This is how we met. I told her: “Motrya, you survived ... I myself saw how you were thrown into the pit.” She told me that after she clambered out, later some people gave her a little bread each and thus fed her back to strength. At that time were bodies were carted in by trucks (lorries), some dead, some still alive. People were saying that Torsin (?) was there on hot coals, that the earth, used to cover the dead was moving...”

Petro Luchko (born in 1924) from the village of Zapruddia, Kyiv oblast’ tells: “There was a separate truck and two men designated to gather the dead. They used to get a loaf of bread for each dead person collected. They used to dump between 10 – 20 persons into the pit. They just threw them in without coffins. It happened that during one night three families died. The entire family of my aunts gave up their souls to God during one night...”

Andrij Hanchenko (born in 1915) from the village of Sofiivka, Chemihiv oblast’, recalls: “Over one third of people in our village died. The dead lay in houses, in the streets and nobody picked them up. When people started dying from hunger in masses, the dead ones were collected, carted off outside the village and buried there. For that those assigned to the task were given rations. I was tending cattle there. Two bodies of older men were brought when they started throwing them into the pit. Some were still alive...”

One more testimony from the Kirovohrad oblast’: “A pit was dug next to the gulch and they were throwing them all, even the live ones. One of them (who did the dumping) said: “Close your eyes, because I am going to throw earth on you ...” A inhabitant from the village of Pryiutivka of the Kirovohrad oblast’, (born in 1924) oblast’ relates: “Five brothers and sisters from my family died of hunger. Almost the entire village died out. People were carted away to the cemetery every day...”

Mykhailo Prokopenko, (born in 1920) from the village of Krasnosilla, Cherkassy oblast’, relates: “Stalin decreed to rob Ukraine, to take away the bread and sell it abroad and children died by the thousands. The barges, full of grain, were most probably drowned in the sea, because nobody would buy that grain – and they took everything away from Ukraine...” When he was asked how he knew about the barges, he answered: “I served in the Navy during the 40-s and there were sailors [serving with me] who did the drowning. We were sitting around after a bad dinner and were fantasizing of a fluffy flat bread, and somebody started talking about it, and then he came to his senses and begged not to tell it to anybody because he would be arrested...”

These testimonies are confirmed by archival data that while people were dying of hunger there during that winter there were wasted [lost] on the threshing floors of the collectives “350 puds [1 pud = 16 kg, – 35 lbs] of peas, as much buckwheat and other grains”. (The village of Khyzhnytsi, Vinnitsia oblast)[2].

Then followed, naturally, psychological disintegration and even, though rare, cases of cannibalism or infanticide of one’s own children so that “that hey would not suffer”.

There was no census or records of the dead. The authorities destroyed any household accounting books. Some people managed to make it to the city railroad stations, where they abandoned their children. What happened to them – no one knows. People were afraid to leave their homes and did not let out their children.

The famine was never mentioned during the years of the Soviet rule; the dead were not commemorated, there were no markers, the crosses were not put up. Even to this day, they do not exist although symbolic crosses or plaques were put up in certain villages much later.

But do we have the right to forget about such a horrible, consciously planned crime, against the Ukrainian peasants? The entire world must know about it and pray for the millions of these innocently destroyed souls.

Therefore these documents and attestations of verbal history can only confirm the planned mass destruction of Ukrainian peasants by the Bolshevik rulers of Russia by means of blockade, violence and artificial famine.

However, reason refuses to understand such unheard-of cruelty. There occurred physical, psychological, morally-ethical destruction of the Ukrainian ethnos. It is absolutely essential that young people learn about it in all educational institutions of the world so that humankind should never again face similar fact of such martyrdoms. There shall also be lessons in many counties about the Famine in Ukraine – similar to the educational programs about the Holocaust.

Our tradition has a highly developed cult of the honouring of ancestors. It is, therefore, a sign of lack of respect for the dead, if there are no memorials in most villages of Ukraine. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to erect

close to Kyiv a monument to all those who perished from the forced famine in Ukraine, – to properly honour these innocent victims by government leaders not only of our own country but also of other states of the world.

Only knowledge about the three famines in Ukraine can assure their non-recurrence. It is, therefore, essential to publish and to print, in large quantities, a textbook about the famines in Ukraine that would be available in each school and institution of learning both in Ukraine and also in Byelorus' and in Russia.

I consider it absolutely necessary that, it be made easier for the students of ethnography, to conduct recordings of verbal (oral) history – a polling of living witnesses of these tragic events in the history of our nation.

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Translation from Ukrainian by Martha T. Pelensky, PE (USA) Editing by Zenon G. Izak (USA) in tribute and homage to the victims and martyrs.

TESTIMONY, FAMINE IN UKRAINE, 1931 – 1933 (2003) IVAN J. DANYLENKO, SOMERDALE, N.J. USA

Our family lived in a small rural farmstead (khutir), near the villages of Svichkivka and Matiashivka – today Lubny region.

There were five children in the family, fifteen to one-and-a half years of age at the peak of starvation in 1933.

My earliest memory of the famine began when I was about six years old, in 1929. At this time several kulak's families, my uncle Yakiv's including, suddenly disappeared from neighborhood. Their property – dwellings, orchards, gardens – were promptly vandalized and left in ruin… Some of the kulak's families fled to large cities and towns, some were exiled; uncle Yakiv's family found refuge in Crimea, where he, sometime in 1931 or 1932, vanished. Rumors have it, that he was cannibalized...

After "dekulakization" food shortages became more acute. By about 1931 my farther made several trips to Kuban, bartering my mother's garments for flour. Soon, however, there were no garments left and the travel out of Ukraine was barred… Simultaneously, as the collectivization intensified and state quotas of grain kept climing , food reserves grew scarcer and scarcer. In early spring of 1932 four of us children tried digging for frozen sugar beets and potatoes, left unharvested from previous year… In vain I tried begging for food from neighbors… Closed, silent homes only deepened my feeling of helplessness…

Later that year, after harvest, we tried to glean. Most of the time we were chased and whipped by overseerson horseback, our cleanings confiscated from us… As I think about it today, these "cleaning episodes", more than anything else, speak of a premeditated, planned attempts to starve the people. Not surprising, perhaps, that similar stories ("cleaning") took place also during 1921 and 1947 famines.

Here I should mention that my father owned four hectares of land and was classified as a middle class farmer (seredniak)… He opposed collectivization, refusing to the end to join the collective farm. Because of this, he was tried and sentenced to two years of hard labor (in Kharkiv). His verdict read: "Even though he is not a kulak, his appearance is that of a kulak…"

But the worse came late in fall of 1932: my father's property was confiscated and the family was evicted from the house. Fearfully, a neighbor (M.Karpenko) took us in for a few days until our family settled in a barn of the state farm (Velychkivka), where my father worked as a carpenter. In this cold, damp and dark place we spent five or six months, facing the most critical days of our lives. Tortured by hunger, weak, with skinny or swollen, watery bodies, hopeless and indifferent, all of us seemed to be ready for the "final act"… But it did not come… Miraculously, our family survived…

My maternal grandparents (Mykytenko) as well as an uncle died from starvation; uncle's wife was sentenced to seven years of hard labor in Siberia for cutting half ripe ears of wheat, trying to save her husband's life…

We endured these horrifying events in a total solitude, dispossessed and isolated from the wold.

Валентина БОРИСЕНКО
Київ

ГОЛОД В УКРАЇНІ 1932 – 1933 РОКІВ
(за матеріалами усних свідчень)

В статті за спогадами очевидців трагедії українського народу – голодомору 1932 – 1933 років, узагальнено матеріал переважно з центральних областей України. Спогади біля тисячі свідків голодомору в Україні засвідчують спланований геноцид урядом більшовицької Росії, направлений на знищення українського селянства.

Матеріали усної історії, зібрані студентами Київського національного університету імені Тараса Шевченка, підтверджують, що уряд червоної Москви здійснив проти української нації нечуваний в світі злочин, прирікши мільйони селян на мученицьку смерть.

Автор висловлює щиру вдячність добродійці Марті Пеленській за переклад статті на англійську мову та Зіновію Іжаку за редакцію тексту.

Timo VIHAVAINEN
Helsinki

"FORWARD, TO COMMUNISM!" IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS IN KHRUSHCHEV'S TIME

The Soviet Union was an ideological state. It categorically rejected any attempts to consider itself just another sovereign state, with conventional selfish state interests, economical, geopolitical or military goals, which any other state was having. To be an ideological state meant to have a mission. The mission of the Soviet Union was writ large in its ideological manifestations, notably in the programme of the Communist Party. At the same time, being ideological implied for the Soviet Union also a claim of being scientific. It was presupposed that the classic texts of Marx, Engels and Lenin were not just philosophical or political, but also strictly scientific in character.

Considering the corpus of Marxist classics to be a priori scientific, was of course no minor problem for genuine scientists and scholars, who had to spend much time in finding the proper citations to prove that empirical science was compatible with the findings of the illustrious Marxist sages of the 19th century, who certainly had found the essence of truth on philosophical level, but had not yet given the empirical evidence for it.

How seriously did the Soviet Union take its ideological commitment? It is true that some scientific theories, such as cybernetics or Mendelian genetics were for some time repressed for ideological reasons. In due course, however, the "ideological" ban was lifted and corrections were made to interpretations of ideology, not to sciences.

Vladimir Shlapentokh has maintained that in fact there were two ideologies in the Soviet Union: the "open" or public one, and a "closed" or private one[1]. The open ideology contained "purely mythological values" and lies were an essential element of it. The closed ideology for its part was based on reality and made survival possible. The two ideologies could intermingle and it was possible to read many texts on two levels. In other words, Shlapentokh seems to mean that what he calls "open ideology" was no more than "text", which mattered only in questions of language and not really in state policies.

To my mind, this approach seems plausible on the general level. However, it also seems to be that in the history of the Soviet Union, there were some moments when the ideological tenets of the party were taken more seriously. The acceptance of the third party programme in 1961, with its loud promises to build a communist society in twenty years was one of them. I don't think that it would be possible to understand the policies of the Khrushchev period without assuming that in the party leadership, there were indeed people, who believed that it was possible to build quickly a new kind of society, where material greed of the individual would have been reduced to a minimum and would not seriously affect national economy[2].

In fact, if the Marxist classics were taken seriously, this task was not to be a difficult one. It was one of Marx' central theses that man's social being determined his consciousness. Now the Soviet society had officially been a socialist society since 1936. Already in that year Stalin had maintained that the psychology of the Soviet people had fundamentally changed thanks to the new socialist principles, which determined the functioning of the society. It was also true that "socialism" was just the name of the lower stage of communism. V.I.Lenin had solemnly promised that a socialist society would necessarily grow into full communism. He did not tell exactly when this would happen, but speaking in 1920 (when the Soviet society still was not even socialist) he had spoken about a period of 10 – 20 years and promised that the younger generation would live in communism.

In fact, after the death of Stalin the Soviet ideology was at crossroads. It had to fulfil its promises or to concede that they had been ill founded. Either man's social being determined his consciousness or it did not. If the latter were the case, Marxism would be proven to be wrong. In the 1950's it was still possible to explain the lag in constructing a communist society by the damages, which had been inflicted by the war. The plausibility of this explanation would, however be rapidly waning in the 1960s and 1970s. Therefore, there was good reason to tell something about the construction of the new society in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This was also what the "communist bloc" expected. Now it comprised a huge conglomerate of peoples and states, which reached from the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea. It was hardly possible to tell to the peoples of this bloc that they were expected to solidarize with the Soviet Union simply because it was in the interests of the latter. The Soviet Union

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did boast about having a world-historical mission and those, who were expected to serve it, were entitled to learn, what it exactly was.

Another good reason for telling concretely what the mission of the Soviet Union was, was the fact that by now most people understood that the Soviet past had not been a happy period, but, on the contrary, a terrible one. Khrushchev's "secret speech" in 1956 had already crushed a great deal of the conceited self-image of the Stalinist Soviet Union. More in this vein followed in 1961. In order to make some balance for restoring the plausibility of the Soviet ideology, the party had to turn the eyes of the people into the bright future instead of the dreary past.

What was communism? In his "State and Revolution" Lenin had given some rather definite characteristics of certain fundamental traits of this new kind of society. He had said that social classes would be liquidated in a communist society as well as the "parasitic" state –machinery. That meant for instance that there would be no specialized civil servants and no standing army. Every citizen in his turn would take care of administration and other tasks of the state[3]. In the communist society there would also be equality and not just a formal one, but "factual". Everybody would give to the society according to his abilities and get according to his needs. This would be possible, when productivity of work would be higher and the present man of the street (obyvatel) would have been further educated by the socialist society[4]. Until these preconditions would be fulfilled, armed workers would keep strict control to ensure the functioning of the society. The preconditions, which Lenin noted, were quite modest, including universal literacy. Lenin seemed to be firmly convinced that people would learn very easily those new ways of behaviour, which were necessary for the new society. In fact, Lenin maintained, these were just "age-old rules", which would be reinforced while the "savage and irrational ways of capitalist exploitation" would be abolished[5].

Lenin spoke about the communist society in the congress of the Communist Youth Union in 1920. Here he defined communist morality, which to his understanding meant such morals, which served the cause of the class struggle. The enemy, which Lenin sorted out to the youth in this occasion, was the peasant, who hoarded for himself more than he needed. All property, including small property, was insupportable, for it placed in the hands of one person such values, which had been created by the whole society[6].

The mission of the communist party had also been described in the second party programme, which had been accepted in 1919. This program preserved quite a lot of those traits, which Lenin had ascribed to the communist society in 1918. A very central goal according to this program was the equality of people, including levelling of wages –only temporary exceptions to this rule were tolerated so far. It was also declared that in the future, economy would be moneyless and that private households would be superseded by public services. The working day of the toilers would be shortened to six hours. After that everybody would spend two hours fulfilling social tasks (administering society) and studying. The high level of culture and many-sided polytechnic schooling would also render division of labour obsolete, for the citizen would be able to do different kinds of work[7].

As is well known, Stalin in the 1930s revised some fundamental issues of the Soviet ideology. For instance, he declared that levelling was not a socialist principle at all, but that "Marxism is an enemy of equalisation"[8]. Stalin also rejected the idea of moneyless economy and spoke about the intensification of the class struggle when the Soviet Union was progressing into socialism. The Stalinist principles of socialist society were authoritatively presented both in the Soviet Constitution of 1936 and in the "Short Course" of the History of the CPSU of the year 1938.

Although the Constitution of 1936 presupposed a clearly different socialism than had been forecasted by the party programme of 1919, it quite explicitly presupposed that the consciousness of the people already had fundamentally changed thanks to the recent introduction of the new social system. As Stalin explained, now there were only two mutually amicable classes in the Soviet society: the workers and the peasants. Additionally, there was the layer of intelligentsia, which was no class at all, but represented those classes, where it had its origin. Despite the lack of antagonistic conflicts the society thus was not homogenous. The differences reflected different kind of labour and proprietorship[9].

Thus, in fact the socialist society of 1936, in spite of all its much renowned merits and "freedoms" was in an important sense still a halfway society. The peasants were "equal" citizens, but the workers were still more "equal", for the "dictatorship" in the state belonged to them as Stalin had said[10]. Also the intelligentsia was still a group apart of others, because it was doing mental work, while the other groups were doing physical work. Evidently those differences were being washed away if there would be full equality. As regards the intelligentsia, it was already being told that it would lose its special status as the difference between physical and mental work was disappearing and everybody was going to belong to this category. The Stakhanovite movement was already a sign of this process[11].

The "Short course" of the History of the CPSU was the new crystallization of "Marxism-Leninism" as the official ideology now was called. The book, which was published in the aftermath of the great terror, was immensely authoritative and its status in the pre-WWII Soviet Union can be compared only to that of Mao-Zedongs "little red

book" in China of the 1960s. The philosophy of the "Short Course" was very clear-cut: control, vigilance and struggle against all kind of diversions and heresies were the A and O of the ideology. Like in catechism, the "lessons" on the party history were presented in six numbered points at the end of the book[12]. In general, this book saw the way of the Soviet people into socialism and further rather as a terrible and merciless struggle than as a harmonious adopting of age-old rules of human society, which Lenin had presaged just before the revolution.

As soon as Stalin had died, the authority of his theoretical works began to wane, even though it was still not contested. The publishing of Stalin's Works was discontinued at volume 13. After Khrushchev's "secret speech" in the XX Party Congress it became evident that the "Short Course", for which Stalin had claimed authorship, would no more be entitled to be the chef d'oeuvre of highest Marxist-Leninist wisdom.

Quite evidently, it was now high time for the CPSU to formulate its ideological goals. Already in the XVIII Party Congress in 1939 it had been proclaimed that the construction of Communism had begun[13]. Now people were entitled to know what it meant and when it would be achieved. Accordingly, in the XX Party Congress it was decided that a new textbook "The Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" would be written. The head of the editorial board was an old communist (and former social democrat) Otto Kuusinen. He was an emigrant of Finnish origin, who had been working in the Komintern secretariat between the World wars[14]. It has been said that Kuusinen proved to have quite original views, which greatly differed from those of his colleagues in the party nomenklatura. As Kuusinen was elected member of the politburo as well as a secretary of the Central Committee, he got a free hand to choose congenial members to the redaction committee. The atmosphere of the collective has been described "liberal" in the circumstances of the epoch[15].

Because this book discussed utterly important topics, Kuusinen sought confirmation for his most fundamental interpretations from the highest authorities, like Nikita Khrushchev himself and even the Presidium (Politburo) of the Central Committee in general[16]. In some cases Kuusinen's stance was scandalously "radical" as he, for instance, wanted to throw away the concept of proletarian dictatorship, which would be rendered obsolete when the Soviet Union would become a "state of the whole people". For this he had got Khrushchev's consent[17].

In general, the ethos of the textbook "Elements of Marxism-Leninism" was clearly "Leninist" in the sense that while Stalinism was criticized (without much ado), many early ideas about the future communist society were revitalized.

For instance, it was now again foreseen that in the future communist society, the average worker would work for only 20 – 25 hours a week. The new leisure time would not be used for gathering property or taking care of material things in general, but for cultural edification and local administration, where everybody would take part[18].

As a result of the perfect society also people would be perfect: "The culture of human characters and feelings will reach unforeseen heights… New conditions of life will call forth… new moral cravings: solidarity, mutual sympathy, a feeling of deepest commonality with other people, who are members of the united human family…"

In communism people would also gain universal factual equality. The differences between town and countryside, mental and physical work would be liquidated. As regards the age-old rules of human society, they would be heeded without any coercion. The state would wither away[19]. The differences between mental and physical work, between town and countryside would disappear. Also the irrational little domestic household would be liquidated and this would ultimately emancipate women. All working people would get higher polytechnic education, which would free them from the captivity of social division of work[20].

But what could one do to the endless growth of human needs? According to the textbook, the citizens of the communist society would no more be those "men of the street", whom Lenin had compared to the seminarists of Pomialovski, who would ask for the impossible. All people would be educated to have a temperate attitude towards things material[21]. In fact, people in a communist society would not hoard things for themselves as personal property at all, but would get them for their personal use from the society when need be. Having no houses or cars as their personal property, peoples' energies would be spared for higher ends[22].

The textbook ended with "further perspectives" of communism, where it was forecast that man in the future, with the help of science, would finally conquer nature and learn to manipulate it in all ways. The average length of human life could be increased into 150 – 200 years, dead people could be reanimated, volcanoes could be kept in check and clouds in the sky could be driven where need be.

It can be seen that in the textbook the ideas of Lenin, which he had uttered in 1917 – 1920 were indeed rather faithfully presented. This was in line with the proclaimed general tendency of "returning to Lenin". In practice, however, one major problem persisted. The march into communism presupposed a tremendous economic growth.

In principle it had always been believed by socialists that the unfettered economic growth of a socialist society would be vastly superior compared to the irrational ways of capitalism. In the late 1950s even statistics seemed to confirm this. There were also other factors, which were believed to serve ideally the Soviet economy and it happened that once more optimism ran riot as it had done during the first five-year plan.

The construction of the material basis of communism began in fact along with the seven-year plan 1959 – 1965, which had been approved in the XXI Party Congress. It was forecast that by 1965 the USSR would still lag behind USA in GNP per capita, but that it would catch and surpass it in five more years[23]. This seemed quite realistic, for as Khrushchev told in 1959, during the past seven years the average annual growth of the US economy had been no more than 1,6 %, while it had been 11,4 % in the USSR[24]. In fact, economic development in the USSR during the first years of the 7-year plan was even better than had been expected. Annual growth was about 10 % instead of 8,3[25]. Khrushchev could proudly declare to the XXII Party congress that the USSR had already surpassed the USA in the production of several important goods (woollen cloth 131 % of USA's production, fine sugar 175 %) and was in the verge of catching the foremost capitalist country in the production of such vital industrial goods as pig iron (82 %), steel (78 %) and cement (94 %) [26].

Another extremely promising field of production was agriculture. Using better subspecies and the culture of maize and leguminous plants had yielded good harvests. The real news, however, was the success of the cultivation of the virgin lands. No less than 40 % of the grain harvest had been reaped from them![27] An abundance of not only grain, but of any kind of meat and sausages seemed to be at the immediate reach of the Soviet people.

Speaking about the III program of the CPSU Khrushchev could proudly – and plausibly – promise very rapid economic growth for the next 10 – 20 years. In the next few years the USSR would play a formidable role in the international grain market, Khruschev promised[28]. But that was only beginning. All in all after 20 years the USSR would produce industrial goods almost two times more than was now produced in the whole world outside the USSR[29].

But production was only the material basis of the communist society. It seems wholly evident that the Soviet Union really was going to build a communist society and had already begun to mould social structures accordingly. In 1960 all workers and officials had got a 6 or 7-hour working day (albeit 6 days a week) and the education system was swelling, in 1961 the USSR boasted of having three times more engineers than the USA. The Soviet people were already the most cultured people in the world[30].

The individual household was also losing its importance. Social services were soaring and in 1965 as many as 2,5 million children would be studying in boarding schools[31].

Such measures, which were on the agenda as reducing the size of the army (and the stress on nuclear weapons instead of men) or mobilizing citizens for the control of public order were obviously well-suited for the purpose of rising productivity. So to a certain extent was probably even the inflation of public services. But what should one say about the continuous shortening of the working day and the overzealous swelling of the education sector?[32] In the long run similar processes were taking place in most developed countries, but possibly the USSR, for ideological reasons, was going to allocate to these purposes more than was economically sound.

But why would the Soviet people work so hard and raise productivity in much higher tempos than their fellow-people in capitalist countries? The litmus test of the socialist society advancing towards communism was obviously the people's attitude to money. In socialist society material interest of the toiler was still considered a natural thing. When the country was approaching communism, however, the importance of this factor was necessarily waning. This was also what Khrushchev maintained.

The swelling of the personal property of the Soviet people was not the goal of the party, he claimed. Personal property could exist in certain sensible bounds, but it was not to turn into an end in itself. –Inflated private property could indeed turn into a brake of social progress. It could lead into "petty bourgeois degeneration". There were cases, when material things enslaved man, who thus became a slave of dead matter. The communists for their part presented common property as the antidote of individual property. Against individualism they presented the principle of comradeship and commonality[33]. One may, of course ask even today: do people really need houses, dachas and cars as their personal property? In fact, many people do not have them and apparently do not even care about them. This question may still some day become actual for humankind and it is possible that future generations will answer it not in the same way as we do. In Khrushchev's time many people evidently believed that not property but access to the assets of well-being was essential. It was even speculated that in the future the idea of having a car or a house of one's own would sound as absurd as the idea of having a train or a theatre of one's own[34].

Communist society, however, entailed also abolishment of money. If everybody would be entitled to getting according to his needs, salaries would lose their meaning. The party programme was somewhat vague at this point. It did not speak about the existence or absence of money, but claimed that people would not be working for money, but because of their own self-realization[35]. In his speech, however, Khrushchev rather incongruously stated that "as far as work had not been turned into the first need of everybody" levelling was impermissible[36]. This statement, which was almost undetectable, hidden among the proclamations about the massive growth of communist elements in Soviet society, probably concerned the most basic question of the whole program. The textbook of Marxism-Leninism had quoted Lenin telling that communist work was unsalaried work for the society,

which in turn would satisfy the needs of its members free of charge[37]. It can be said that the textbook had adopted the Leninist line, while the program tried to reconcile both the Leninist line and its Stalinist revision.

As a result the program did not really answer the question of the date of reaching full communism. The "material base" might be built by 1980, but if there would still be remuneration according to work and not according to needs, the system would hardly deserve to be called full communism.

In general, Khrushchev's message was very much in line with the ideas of Lenin and also with the views of Marx and Engels as regards the real essence of man and the pernicious character of individualism and petty bourgeois urge for hoarding property. On paper, everything fitted nicely together. Abundance for all would be easier to achieve, if there was no private property or next to none. Human energies would be spared when the society would take care of the mundane tasks of keeping houses and cars in order, labour-saving machines would really serve humankind when the work spared by the use of them use would yield more leisure to people – for the purpose of their self-realization by way of study and cultural refinement. –The socialist way of life could evidently also help in sparing the biosphere, but this issue went unheeded at the time. The program of the CPSU was not oriented to sparing nature but to its maximal exploitation. Khrushchev was happy to proclaim that man would be liberated from the fetters of nature and would become the master of nature[38].

In the third program the CPSU committed itself not only to the creation of a homogenous society, where differences between physical and mental work and between town and countryside had been abolished. It promised for the Soviet people the highest standard of life and simultaneously also the shortest working day. It proclaimed that the standard of living of the USA would be surpassed by 1970 and be left far behind by 1980. It promised to create a state of the whole people, where everybody would take part in administration. It promised to increase rights and liberties and to eradicate criminality. It promised to abolish taxes and to increase all kinds of services free of charge. It promised increased cooperation and mutual friendship of nationalities and proclaimed that simultaneously the USSR would be the guardian and helper of all nations, who wanted to live in peace and freedom. To the capitalist countries the USSR proudly threw the gauntlet: it would win the race for economic construction. Peaceful coexistence, not war, was what it needed and strived for. The program ended with the solemn promise: The party solemnly declares: The present generation of Soviet people will live in communism!"[39]

With the privilege of hindsight we know that this euphoria was ill-timed. Within a couple of years Soviet agriculture entered a grave crisis, which proved to be chronic in character. In general the views about the economic basis of the III party program proved to be ill founded. But what can we say about the role of ideology in this respect?

In fact very many of those things, which the program promised have been reached: the nature of work has changed and the differences between town and countryside have diminished, working time has been cut and leisure has increased, the general level education and material well being have tremendously risen, new machines have eased household work and in a certain sense "liberated women" and so on. However, these processes have taken place more conspicuously in other societies than in the once socialist ones. Why this has been so is a large question. It is, however, quite legitimate to ask, whether the CPSU did not make a fundamental error when it based its policies on the philosophical musings of the founding fathers of Marxism, whose abstract musings were proclaimed to be a priori true[40]. The communist society had no more links with reality than the town of Kitezh. Stalin had built his "socialism" with unscrupulous terror. Khrushchev promised ever-increasing freedom and general contentment amidst affluence. These promises were based not only on economic calculations, but also leaned very heavily on the Marxist teaching about the essence of man.

In the beginning of the 1960s ideology quite evidently seriously mattered in the politics of the CPSU. The "closed" and "open" stratums of the ideology seemed to be more or less identical[41]. Behind the curtains, there were frank discussions about the things, which could be promised in the party program. Calculations about propaganda value were important for those, who were composing the program, but it seems to be evident that by and large, at least some remarkable people firmly believed in the main points of the program[42]. In approving of the III program the party openly declared what it stood for. It was to lose the game, but it was its finest hour. Never before had the capitalist world order been so plausibly challenged. The perspective of being "buried" by the communists really caused anxiety in the West[43].

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[1] Shlapentokh V. A Normal Totalitarian Society. How the Soviet Union Functioned and How it Collapsed. M.E.Sharpe, Armonk etc., 2001. – Pp. 54 – 55.

[2] This topic will be more closely discussed in a book about O.W.Kuusinen's role as an ideologue of the CPSU, which will be published in 2003 by the Institute of Russian history of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Much material about ideological discussions on a closed or semi-closed level are available in Kuusinen's papers in the RGASPI (see fond 522, opis' 2, dela 69, 71, 72, 73, 75.

[3] Lenin V.I. Gosudarstvo I Revoliutsiia. – Moscow, 1971. – P. 265.

[4] Ibid. – Pp. 303 – 309.
[5] Ibid. – Pp. 298 – 309.
[6] Lenin V.I. Zadachi soiuzov molodiozhi. – Pp. 415 – 417.
[7] Programmy i ustavy KPSS. – Moscow, 1969. – Pp. 29 – 62.
[8] Stalin J.W. Report to the 17th Party Congress. Works. Vol. 13. – Moscow, 1955. – P. 363.
[9] Stalin I.V. O proekte konstitutsii. Sochineniia. Tom XIV (1.) The Hoover Institution, Stanford, 1967. – P. 142.
[10] Ibid. – P. 152.
[11] See e.g. Siegelbaum L. Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity in the USSR, 1935 – 1941. Cambridge University Press, 1988. – P. 212.
[12] Istoriia vsesoiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (bolshevikov). Kratkii kurs. – Moscow, 1953. – Pp. 337 – 46.
[13] KPSS v rezoliutsijakh siezdov, konferentsii I plenumov TsK. Tom 5. – Moscow, 1971. – P. 339.
[14] See Kuusinen's memorandum about his task. RGASPI fond 522, opis' 2, delo 85, pp. 338 – 339.
[15] See about his role as editor in G.A.Arbatov. Zatianushcheeesia vyzdorovlenie. – Moscow, 1991. – P. 50; F.Burlatski. Vozhdi i sovetniki. – Moscow, 1990. – Pp. 33 – 43.
[16] Kuusinen's letters in RGASPI, fond 522, opis' 2, delo 69, delo 73, 74.
[17] See Burlatski F. Russkie gosudari epokhi reformatsii. – Moscow, 1996. – Pp. 72 – 73.
[18] Osnovy marksizma-leninizma. – Moscow, 1959. – Pp. 746 – 747.
[19] Ibid. – Pp. 744 – 745.
[20] Ibid. – Pp. 704, 709 – 710.
[21] Ibid. – P. 742.
[22] Ibid. – P. 707.
[23] Vneocherednoj XXI s'ezd KPSS. In: KPSS v rezoliutsiiakh. Tom 7. – Pp. 481– 482.
[24] Khrushchev's speech at the opening of the national exhibition of the USA in Moscow 24 July 1959. In, Maailma ilman aseita ja sotia II. – Helsinki, 1961. – P. 137.
[25] The Report of the CPSU CC for the XXII Congress 17 October 1961, In Tie kommunismiin. – Moscow, 1961. – P. 71.
[26] Ibid. – P. 74.
[27] Ibid. – P. 85.
[28] Khrushchev's speech about the III program of the CPSU, Tie kommunismiin. – P. 220.
[29] Ibid. – P. 206.
[30] Report of the CC, Tie kommunismiin. – Pp. 107, 110, 112.
[31] Ibid. – Pp. 109 – 111.
[32] It was true that the salaries of teachers were very low, but a rise was promised soon. See Khrushchev's speech about the III programme, Tie kommunismiin. – P. 244.
[33] Report of the CC, Tie kommunismiin. – Pp. 119 – 120.
[34] See Pyzhikov A. Khrushchevskaya "ottepel". – Moscow, 2002. – P. 300.
[35] III program, Tie kommunismiin. – Pp. 521 – 522.
[36] Khrushchev's speech on the III program, Tie kommunismiin. – P. 243.
[37] Osnovy… – P. 738 – 739.
[38] Khrushchev's speech on the III program, Tie kommunismiin. – P. 232.
[39] III Program, Tie kommunismiin. – P. 604.
[40] In the program, dialectical materialism was called "The one and only scientific epistemic method". Ibid. – P. 589.
[41] Anastas Mikojan seems to hint that Khrushchev did not really believe in the promises of the program, but wanted to impress the people. Mikoian, however, was no friend of Khruschev in general. A.Mikoian. Tak bylo. – Moscow, 1999. – P. 613.
[42] See for instance O.Kuusinen's comments to Khrushchev. Kuusinen seems to have very much believed in communism – as one could expect when reading the textbook "Elements of Marxism-Leninism". However, he was quite sceptical about attaining the goal in 20 years. Even such points as coalescence of mental and physical work or of the differences between town and countryside seemed to him unrealistic within such a short period. RGASPI fond 522, opis' 2, delo 70, 75.
[43] Kekkonen U., president of Finland, like many others, seems to have been very impressed by the perspectives of the Soviet economy and having believed that the Soviet Union will soon catch and surpass the capitalist world. See H.Rautkallio. Kekkonen ja Moskova. Suomi lännestä nähtynä 1956 – 1961. Tammi. – Helsinki, 1991 – P. 387.

Тімо ВІХАВАЙНЕН
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“ВПЕРЕД, ДО КОМУНІЗМУ!” ІДЕОЛОГІЧНІ ПИТАННЯ В ЧАСИ М.ХРУЩОВА

Місія Радянського Союзу була виголошена в численних ідеологічних заявах, особливо в програмі КПРС. В той же час, будучи ідеологічними, ці документи претендували на науковість. Класичні праці Маркса, Енгельса, Леніна вважалися не тільки філософськими або політичними, але й строго науковими.

Наскільки серйозно Радянський Союз ставився до своїх ідеологічних заяв? Володимир Шлапентох твердить, що в Радянському Союзі співіснували дві ідеології: “відкрита” або публічна, і “закрита”. “Відкрита” ідеологія була побудована виключно на міфологічних засадах і її важливою складовою була брехня. Натомість “закрита” ідеологія базувалась на реаліях. Отже, ідеологічні тексти можна було читати на двох рівнях Дві ідеології іноді могли поєднуватися. Іншими словами, Шлапентох вважав “відкриту” ідеологію не більше ніж “текстом”, який не мав значення в дійсно державній політиці.

Третя програма КПРС обіцяла, що матеріальна база комунізму буде створена до 1980 року і в радянському суспільстві переможе специфічний комуністичний спосіб життя. В цій програмі КПРС не лише зобов’язувалась побудувати однорідне суспільство, в якому різниця між фізичною і розумовою працею, містом і селом буде ліквідована, але й обіцяла радянським людям найвищий життєвий рівень і найкоротший робочий день. Проголошувалось, що в СРСР до 1970 року буде перевершений життєвий рівень в США. Планувалось створити державу з єдиним народом, в якій всі братимуть участь в управлінні. Також обіцялось посилити права й свободи, викоренити злочинність, зміцнити співробітництво і дружбу між народами. Проголошувалось, що Радянський Союз буде захищати і допомагати всім народам, які хочуть жити в мирі і свободі.

СРСР гордо кинув виклик капіталістичним країнам – він переможе в сфері економіки. Для цього було необхідне мирне співіснування держав з різним політичним устроєм. Програма завершувалась урочистою обіцянкою: “Нинішнє покоління радянських людей житиме при комунізмі!”

Оцінюючи минуле, ми знаємо, що ця ейфорія була невчасною. Через декілька років радянське сільське господарство зазнало зернової кризи, яка набула хронічного характеру. Взагалі, партійна програма розвитку економіки була погано обґрунтована. Але що ми можемо сказати про роль ідеології в цей період? На початку 1960-х років ідеологія, очевидно, мала серйозне значення в політиці КПРС. Нарешті, за короткий період “закриті” і “відкриті” рівні ідеології, здавалося, дуже зблизились, хоча й існували серйозні сумніви щодо можливості до 1980 року побудувати справжній “комунізм”, тобто безгрошову економіку, коли буде ліквідований матеріальний дефіцит і люди отримуватимуть товари та послуги безкоштовно.

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UKRAINIAN IDENTITY IN POPULAR TEXTBOOKS WRITTEN BY NATIONAL ACTIVISTS, 1857 – 1863

When, within a non-dominant people that lacks a state of its own, there emerges a nationally minded intelligentsia in the process of modernization its nation-building task resembles that of a demiurge. On the one hand, the nation must be created with the help of imagination. A feeling of community must be presumed when none or a very feeble one exists in a vast geographic territory; inconsistencies between various different criteria of nationality, like language and religious confession, must be both overlooked and overcome by selecting most decisive ones; national historical mythology and national heroes must be created; and all this has to be disseminated to wider strata of population. The whole process presupposes some of the means of communication that appear only in relatively modern societies, like printing press and maps[1]. On the other hand, nations cannot be created arbitrarily from nothing; their construction requires pre-existing material. Anthony Smith convincingly emphasizes how nation building, in order to be viable, presupposes an ethnic identity based on a shared complex of myths and symbols. The most important constituent parts of this complex are the myths of common origin and shared historical experiences during which the ethnic group has expressed its presumably best traits. Without these myths nation building is unlikely to succeed. In addition, Smith lists several others less necessary, but nevertheless important, parts of the complex of myths and symbols: the name of the group; one or more cultural traits that differentiate it from the others and bind members together, like language or religion; identification with a certain territory; feeling of mutual solidarity between the members of the group. Smith presents Ukrainians of the 18th century as an example of an ethnic category rather than an ethnic group simply because of their lack of mutual solidarity[2]. The existence of an "Other" that either threatens the group or is perceived to threaten it could be added to Smith's list of building blocks of an ethnic identity.

Regardless of Smith's opinion about 18th century Ukrainians, the previously existing ethnic identity proved to be sufficient for the emergence of a national movement in the 19th century. In the period from 1857 to 1863, Ukrainian publishing was relatively active in the Russian empire. One of the most important fields of activity of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was the publishing of simple educational literature for common people. From 1857 – 1863, excluding fiction, at least 22 titles of this sort was published in Ukrainian[3]. They included primers (9), books on mathematics (2), natural science (1), history (1), religion (7), and a single book explaining the decrees of the authorities and one that advocated temperance. The edition of any single book was at most 10 000 copies[4]. Ukrainian nationally minded intelligentsia wrote and published most of these books, often trying to transmit to readers or listeners at least some of their own values. Most of the elements of an ethnic identity as defined by Smith can be found in the popular textbooks.

Publishing activities were part of a wider educational campaign of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Most of the primers were intended for use in Sunday schools that were staffed by voluntary and unpaid teachers in 1859 – 1862. In June 1862, Sunday schools were closed, apparently because an attempt to disseminate revolutionary propaganda was discovered in a St. Petersburg school[5]. This was a pretext; the government had even previously been concerned about the possibility of losing control over elementary education to the intelligentsia[6]. One of the problems the Sunday schools caused for the government was the dissemination of Ukrainian national ideas through them. About 100 of 360 Sunday schools in the whole empire functioned in what is now Ukraine, and nationalists already were participating in the second Sunday school of the empire that began its work in 1859 in Kyiv. The two Sunday schools in Kyiv were attended mainly by Ukrainophile youth; the language of instruction was Ukrainian. Taras Shevchenko donated 50 copies of his *Kobzar* to be used in these schools[7]. The national orientation of these schools was not a secret, for even official reports about their activities included statistics of pupils divided into nationalities, (Little Russians and Great Russians were counted separately)[8]. From April 1861 to August 1862, a

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Ukrainian-language everyday school functioned lawfully in Kyiv[9]. There were nationally minded Sunday schools or individual teachers also in Poltava, Chernihiv and Kharkiv[10]. In 1861 in Kyiv, there was established a Pedagogical school with teachers recruited from among university students or recent graduates. Of the six teachers, at least five were members of Kyivan *Hromada*, a semi-underground national organisation. This arrangement was part of a short-lived attempt of the Governor-General of Kyiv, Ilarion Vasil'chikov, to co-operate with Ukrainians and use them as a counter force against Poles[11]. At the turn of the 1850s and the 1860s, Ukrainophiles even advocated a reform that would have allowed instruction in Ukrainian at schools of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment. Although the proposal found some support in government circles, it was not executed before the repression against the use of Ukrainian language even in publishing began[12]. The Ukrainophiles in the Pedagogical school attempted to prepare future teachers of village schools to provide instruction in Ukrainian, but, in the summer of 1863, they were expelled from the school. In Kyiv from 1859 – 1864, there also functioned a Ukrainian-language underground school with a planned seven-year programme, but it had to close in fear of repression. Thus, both official co-operation with the authorities in the field of popular education and underground Ukrainian instruction came to an end.

What, then, did the Ukrainian intelligentsia teach to people? I have had access to 16 of the 22 books published for common people: eight of the nine primers[13]; four of the seven religious books[14]; the sole history book published[15]; one book on mathematics[16]; one on natural science[17]; and one published in order to explain the liberation of peasants from serfdom[18]. Of these, only three religious books and the one explaining the liberation of peasants do not contain any indications of Ukrainian propaganda. The lack of propaganda in the latter is hardly surprising, for the provincial authorities published it in Kharkiv in 1862. In all the other twelve books national themes appear, however, there is a great variety in how strongly they are emphasised[19]. In some books, national ideas and symbols are mentioned only in passing, while in others they are the essential content.

History

Although only one special history book was published, historical material was very prominent in the primers. The Cossack theme is the most developed historical subject in these books. Not one of the primers bypasses the Cossacks. Five of them contain lengthy passages about Cossack history or folk songs about them, while others include proverbs mentioning Cossacks, e.g., "liberty is a Cossack's destiny (volia kozaka dolia)" and make use of Cossack words in exercises[20]. In Cossack history, the wars against Poles, Tartars, Turks and other enemies are emphasised. Rather significantly, Swedes are mentioned as enemies only in one book – a collection of sermons[21]. Russians are left almost completely in the background, and not mentioned either as enemies or allies. They are outsiders in Cossack wars that are fought by Ukrainians whose national strength they express. Ukraine acts here as a political unit and agent in its own right. This is most apparent in Kulish's text. His primer begins with biblical citations and their explanations. In lesson 7, the text explained is taken from a folk song that describes a war against Poles, and the following lessons, 8 – 12, are similar. Thus, historical songs are elevated to the status of sacred texts equal to those of the Bible. Their explanations contain an unequivocal nationalist message worthy of quotation:

> "From ancient times our Ukraine suffers from great misfortunes, mainly because of other countries. She consists of flatland, and on her borders there are no high mountains nor deep rivers nor sea that would allow a defence against foreigners who attempt to plunder the country. It was God's will that our beautiful, fertile land would stand unprotected from neighbours. How strange! A Pole ruled over our country, Tartar and Turk raided her, how many Christian people fell from the swords of enemies! How many departed to slavery with Tartar raiders! How many humiliations our forefathers had to bear! How many of our families and generations converted to alien faiths and alien habits! But Ukraine stands to this day as a country separate from all its neighbours. Even if you travel the entire world, nowhere will you find such nice people, nowhere will you hear such a wonderful language, nowhere will such songs be sung to you. In those unhappy days about which the present duma tells, God did not forget us; He helped us survive plagues and wars, for He was sparing us for a great task, for regeneration. It requires great effort to get rid of the Polish yoke; we needed to be strong in spirit to respond to the proud lords who, having converted to an alien faith and habits, consider us mindless cattle. The merciful God knew why he sent misfortune to the Ukrainian land. He did not want to abandon her to the insults of neighbours, but wanted to elevate her to struggle for liberty and faith, sending all kinds of misfortune. The hearts of Ukrainians were strengthened by misfortune and they rose above all turmoil, the whole country rose like one soul against the unrighteous force of Poland – and soon there was no longer a single foreigner or traitor in Ukraine. This led to the emergence of the idea that there is no one who can beat us, for the strength of a nation that rises for its faith and rights is invincible. Poland was a great realm; it stretched from the Black Sea to the

> Baltic Sea. Look now what is left of her! … Poland is today a great cemetery of ancient glory, and on that cemetery the living weep over the dead. No one but we did this … God punishes earthly kingdoms by the same hands that once defended them!”[22]

Passages such as this were too much for Governor-general Vasil’chikov to handle. In 1858, he banned the book in Right Bank Ukraine, although it continued to circulate freely elsewhere. Vasil’chikov justified the ban as an attempt to avoid agitation against Polish nobility in his area, but he could not have remained unaware of the possible anti-Russian implications in Kulish’s ideas[23]. Acting on the proposal of the Head of the Third Section, Vasilii Dolgorukov, the Minister of Public Enlightenment, Evgraf Kovalevskii, decreed that new editions of the book must only be published without articles written “in a spirit exclusive to Little Ukrainians, as opposed to Russians, or those containing memories about hostilities between tribes…that especially cannot be tolerated in a book directed to children and common people”[24]. Although Kovalevskii’s circular somewhat softened the expressions of Ukrainian nationalism in textbooks, it did not prevent them. To be sure, Kulish’s history of Cossack wars, *Khmel’nychchyna*, published in 1861, contained a somewhat different and more balanced interpretation of past events. Although, he still sided with the Cossacks, he also depicted their ignorance, their greed and the atrocities they committed. According to Kulish, after the expulsion of Polish lords, Cossacks ruined their country, caused economic depression and lawlessness. He also wrote about Crimea and Moscow as allies of Cossacks, thus revealing that they did not fight totally alone, although he also emphasised the precariousness of such alliances[25].

In descriptions of Cossack or ancient Ukrainian society, there are various and somewhat different emphasises. For Kulish, the most important is that the nation be unanimous, for that makes it invincible. The most common conflict is one with other nations. According to his primer, Cossacks founded Zaporizhzhia in order to defend themselves against Tartars; he ignores such social reasons as escaping from lords. Kulish does mention the conflict between lords and common people, but for him it is rather a cultural than a socio-economic class conflict. Everything was fine so long as lords confessed the Orthodox faith, spoke Ukrainian and lived in the countryside. At that time, they were *otamany* rather than lords; as such they respected their community and lived in a similar way with the peasants. Only when the lords adopted an alien faith and habits and moved to towns, did they begin to despise and exploit the common people[26]. Here, Kulish sees towns as inherently non-Ukrainian places. This aspect is, however, absent in *Khmel’nychchyna*, where Kulish also mentions social oppression practised by Polish lords as one of the reasons for the emergence of the Cossacks. While the Cossacks were not fighting for social equality, but rather wanted to establish themselves as a ruling class, common people participated in the war in the hope of gaining freedom. As a result, the entire nation participated in the war even though different groups had different aims[27]. A Moscow student, Leonid Iashchenko, prepared a primer in which he emphasised the democracy and freedom of the Cossack political system. He tells readers that in ancient times all Ukrainians were Cossacks, thus implicitly criticising the estate system of Russia. He explains that Zaporizhzhia emerged as a result of peasants who left their homesteads seeking freedom. All the Cossacks

> “...loved their motherland Ukraine and their Orthodox faith, because of this love they fought against Tartars, Turks and Poles. They put truth and justice before everything else and made decisions as a community; the community was their court and as a community they elected their starshyny (officers) and hetman. “Bandurists and minstrels in epic songs … to these days singe about what happened at that great time…”[28]

Iashchenko lists various Cossack hetmans, who did not succeed in their struggle, and sees Bohdan Khmel’nyts’kyi as the one who liberated the country from Poles and united the majority of Ukrainian territories with Moscow. Iashchenko ends his account of the history of Ukraine with the following short, but frank account:

> “… when Catherine II annexed Crimea and the Tartars became peaceful, it was decreed that Zaporizhzhia must be ruined, and that all the Cossacks be transferred to the Azov Sea to defend the country against the Cherkes; their descendants even now live there, and they are called Black Sea Cossacks ”[29].

Iashchenko did not cover the period of the Zaporizhzhia Host in Turkish service; for him, only the history of an autonomous Cossack Ukraine is worth telling. However, Iashchenko’s ideas that emphasised popular participation in decision-making did not derive from Cossack traditions. In 1861, the authorities caught him distributing, the texts of Russian revolutionary Alexander Herzen and other forbidden publications among a group of Moscow students who included the ardent Russian revolutionary Petr Zainchevskii who, a year later composed the famous, ultra-radical proclamation “Young Russia” that demanded the abolition of private property, religion and family in a bloody revolution. In the spring of 1862, when he published his primer, Iashchenko was waiting for his sentence, but was still free. His final sentence was imprisonment for six months[30]. Despite his imprisonment, Iashchenko likely was quite genuinely enthusiastic about Cossack history; it presented him with the means to express his ideas on modern political developments. Similarly, Mykola Hattsuk in his primer presented Cossack history through the medium of folk songs. Whereas Iashchenko attributed Cossack liberty to community life, Hattsuk emphasised

the individual liberty that was characteristic of the Cossack lifestyle, and also considered the Cossack reaction to the neglect suffered at the hands of Polish lords[31].

Cossack themes were not restricted to primers and history books; they were included even in books on mathematics. Oleksandr Konys'kyi's textbook on mathematics included the following exercise:

> "The distance from Poltava to the porohy (rapids), where the Zaporiz'ka Sich was once located, is 251 versts 312 sazhens and two arshyns. If one travels six times to the Sich and back, how many versts will that make in all?"[32]

These books leave no doubt that Cossacks are the mythical ancestors of Ukrainians. However, some books also focus on other times. Kulish informs his readers that Ukrainians inhabited their present territory already one thousand years ago, and in Khmel'nychchyna he even presents an etymology of the word Ukraina as a reference to a people that remained unmixed with other nations[33].

His primer presents the existence of Ukraine as originating in the times of Kyivan Rus'. According to Kulish, Ukraine was already independent before the Tartar invasions. At that time Ukraine was deserted except for the Kyiv, Chernihiv, Volynia and Podillia regions. The Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas defeated the Tartars and integrated Ukraine into his realm. Later, when Lithuania united with Poland, this was a great misfortune for Ukraine and led to the onset of the Cossack wars[34]. In his Khmel'nychchyna, Kulish somewhat changed his opinions, presenting Kyivan princes as foreign oppressors of Ukrainians. He thus attributed the Ukrainian national character to the Kyivan population but not the Kyivan state. Kulish the foreign origin of the Rus' state somewhat unclear, stating only that it rulers came from the region around Baltic Sea. He sees Tartar rule in relatively positive terms, claiming that the princes and monks suffered more than common people. He explains the expansion of Lithuania as resulting from Ukrainian settlements in Lithuania rather than as a Lithuanian conquest[35]. Apart from image of the early phase of Cossack wars as a Golden Age that can be found in Khmel'nychchyna, the book presents the period after the Tartar invasions and before the Cossack wars as the best one. This was because popular participation in decision-making limited the actions of lords, while the rule of law prevented popular participation to develop into mob rule[36]. Although Kulish does not state any explicit political ideal in Khmel'nychchyna, he creates the impression that he would prefer a constitutional monarchy with each estate having its own privileges.

Language and territory

Historical myths and traditions could serve as a factor strengthening national identity, but they were unsuitable to be the decisive criteria. If one considered Cossack government traditions, one would have to be satisfied with a much smaller area for Ukrainians than could be argued for on the basis of linguistic criteria. True, Kulish even here argues for an exception; the *Khmel'nychchyna* contains a careful description of Ukraine's historical borders in 1657 that encompass a large seacoast but only a tiny part of what was Austria in Kulish's time:

> "From the mouth of Dnister up the river to Pokuttia (south-eastern Halychyna); from Pokuttia to the river Horyn', then along Horyn' and Prypiat to the Dnipro, the border extended to Staryi Bykhov; from Staryi Bykhov the border went across the Dnipro along the river Sozha to its upper stream and the town of Roslavl'; from Roslavl' the border went along the old border of the Muscovite realm to the Black Sea on the other side of delta, and along the coast of Black Sea from Dnipro to the Dnister"[37].

Kulish does not indicate what importance he gives to these historical borders, but in his primer he considers government borders in general a changing phenomenon and presents a territorial definition of Ukraine on linguistic grounds.

Eastern Europe already offered examples of fairly successful nationalisms based on language, and the idea of language as an expression of national character was since Herder's time widely accepted. What made Ukrainian books different from others was their language. It is hardly surprising that the importance of language was emphasised in many books, although there were many different orthographies and dissimilarities in their language. Hattsuk wanted to rely on ancient Ukrainian tradition and considered the modern Cyrillic alphabet introduced by Peter I altogether unsuitable for Ukrainian. That is why he used the Old Slavonic orthography with some modifications in his primer. Hattsuk's primer represented linguistic purity to such an extent that he managed to write a chapter about counting money without mentioning the word "rouble"[38]. In his primer, Kulish told readers that language dictates the division of mankind into nations, which are much more fundamental than states. Borders of states change, but those of nations remain the same. It is men who divide the world into states, but God's providence divides it into tribes/nations. Since God so divides the world, it is everyone's obligation to know properly one's own nation, its region, towns, language etc. As to Ukraine, it stretches from the Carpathian Mountains to the river Esman', from Poland to the Don. Ukrainians must respect their language as God's gift. Those who neglect and forget the Ukrainian language, voluntarily expel themselves from Ukraine[39]. Kalinik Sheikovs'kii, another member

of the Kyivan *Hromada*, also included in his primer the principal ideas about the importance of language:

> "Language is an image of the soul, and scripture is an image of language: how it is spoken, so it is written. Our language is spoken in the Carpathian Mountains, in Podillia, in Volhynia and Kyiv, and Chernihiv, and in the Kherson region, and in Voronezh and in Kharkiv, on the Black Sea, some areas of Poland and still in some places of the land of Rus'. Our language is a written one since ancient times"[40].

Sheikovs'kii used his own orthography that aimed to reflect spoken language as closely as possible, and contained the letter "ы" that Kulish abandoned. Apart from Sheikovs'kii, Iashchenko also described the territorial limits of Ukraine on the basis of language, although his description was not exact:

> "Nowadays, we, Ukrainians, or Little Russians, number about 15 millions, and apart from a good two million under German rule, who are called Halychany, we are all subjects of the Muscovite realm, where now the emperor is Alexander II. We are all Orthodox. The lands of Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Volynia, Podillia, Katerynoslav and territories surrounding them are the ancient lands of our forefathers. We are dispersed all over the southern part of the Moscow realm; we live in the Dnipro delta and Crimea, on the other side of the Don and Volga, as well as in all the big cities of this realm and indeed it would be difficult to say where we do not live. There comes the time to fly from one's own nest"[41].

Iashchenko's misinformed view of Orthodoxy as the religious confession of all Ukrainians is noteworthy. He is the only Ukrainian author encountered in my research samples who mentions the contemporary Russian government and emperor, and even he makes it clear that being a Ukrainian is a more fundamental trait than being a Russian subject.

The importance of language is also emphasised in the only religious book of the period that contains any national ideas, father Vasyl' Hrechulevych's (Grechulevich) collection of sermons[42]. Vasyl' Hrechulevych's was one of the most productive Ukrainian popular writers who published seven titles in years 1849 – 1859. Although the author's main motivation was clearly a pastoral one, nevertheless his works were a new, important achievement for the national movement. Hrechulevych's first collection of sermons came out in 1849, and the foreword dedicated to Hedeon, Archbishop of Poltava and Pereiaslav, expressed the humble wish that the Little Russian language be found suitable to express divine truths[43]. The second, significantly altered edition was published in 1857, and it indicates that the author had been in contact with national activists. In the foreword the author writes that, according to Shafarik, 13 million people speak Little Russian and argues that such a widespread language must not be neglected. After the publication of the first edition, Hrechulevych's consulted persons well acquainted with Little Russian literature and received their advice. Among the changes due to these contacts are the adoption of the Poltava instead of the Podillia dialect as a standard and the proposal of a new orthography that follows Kulish (without mentioning him) and abandons the letter "ы". Hrechulevych disapproves of priests who do not undertake the study of the language and habits of the people they serve. The study of language is necessary in order to properly fulfil one's pastoral mission, for language contains influences from the nations past and reflects the development of a specific national character. To reach his listeners, a priest must know their language and national character[44]. In the text of the actual sermons, Hrechulevych once advises his audience that before undertaking any ambitious plans they should think about their possible affects on the entire village, town, or perhaps even the whole Ukraine[45]. Thus, Ukraine, and not the Russian empire, is given as the larger national framework to which the parishioners belong. One such passage in the book is not much, but, on the other hand, Russia and the Russian government are not mentioned at all.

Two authors, Hattsuk and Stronin, a teacher from Poltava, include at the end of their primers a brief introduction to the Russian alphabet, thus indicating that it is necessary also to learn to read Russian. Both include also a short lesson on Old Slavonic. Kulish mentions that it is easy to learn to read "Muscovite" after Ukrainian, but does not give any instruction in this[46].

Folk culture

All of the primers include proverbs, but only four contain epic poems. Apart from Kulish, Sheikovs'kii also emphasises the importance of epic folk poetry:

> "The nation that for an extended time, aggressively fights against other nations has the best folk songs. Such is our nation; for it has had to fight against Tartars and Poles for a long time. Epic poems relate this struggle very beautifully. In all of Slavdom our songs are the best, with the exception of the Serbian ones. We present two songs: one addressing the struggle against Tartars and one the struggle against Poles. In the struggle against the Tartars our forefathers often had to sail the sea, and that is why the song is about seafaring. The song about the struggle against the Poles tells what the newly converted Poles did to the people and what Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi did to the Poles"[47].

It is remarkable that precisely historical songs and proverbs are selected from Ukrainian folklore, while many other elements, like humorous songs are ignored. Ukrainian nation building seems to have been a rather serious business. The predominance of historical songs is understandable, for it depicted the only independent government tradition available for nation building.

Religion

We are already familiar with Iashchenko's claim that all Ukrainians are Orthodox. Among the forbidden books that he distributed together with other radical Moscow students, there were the works of Ludwig Feuerbach and of Ludwig Büchner, a German extreme materialist, in Russian translation[48] . This points to the fact that Iashchenko probably did not favour Orthodoxy for theological reasons, but rather found religious disunity in a nation disturbing. Kulish also emphasised the importance of Orthodoxy as opposed to Roman Catholicism. Hattsuk's and Shevchenko's primers contain simple religious instruction in the Orthodox tradition without mentioning any other confessions. Sheikovs'kii's primer and *Something About God's World*, a collective elementary textbook on natural science published by the Kyivan *Hromada* mention Christianity favourably[49]. Kulish's relation to the Orthodox Church, however, was far from simple. He clearly considered those who converted either to Roman or Greek Catholicism as having abandoned their Ukrainian nationality, for the very aim of the Union of Brest was to make the three composite nations of the Commonwealth into one, Polish nation[50]. On the other hand, Kulish also disapproved of Orthodox faithful who adopted the Polish language and habits[51]. Thus, Orthodoxy is a necessary but not a sufficient criterion of Ukrainian nationality. Kulish's relation to the Church is further complicated by his rather heavy criticism even of defenders of Orthodoxy during religious controversies, for such individuals frequently understood religion superficially and cared only about their own interest[52]. The Orthodox institutions that he valued most highly were the brotherhoods, not least because they kept the clergy in control[53]. His primer contains a presentation of his own theology that hardly is Orthodox, although it passed ecclesiastical censorship. For Kulish, earthly salvation is collective and national, as opposed to the individual salvation of the afterlife. It is the nations that are nearer or further from God and are rewarded or punished for their actions, a thesis that finds support in the Old Testament. Kulish also emphasises that the faith that exists in the heart is more important than any visible Church, thus revealing a Protestant leaning[54].

As a whole, the religious opinions expressed in the books indicate that contact with West Ukraine was restricted during this period of nation building. Ukrainian activists of the Russian empire made no effort to accommodate the Greek Catholic Church dominant in Austrian Ukraine within their national ideology, although they proclaimed national unity across borders on linguistic grounds. Certainly, the restricted availability of traditions associated with historical government limited their openness. The Cossack government of the 17th century was closely tied to the Orthodox reaction to Roman Catholic expansion in the east. A more tolerant attitude toward religion would have placed doubt on the value of the newly formed national historical myths.

Name

There is a remarkable consistency in the national terminology used in popular Ukrainian books. Hrechulevych's calls the language "Little Russian," but the country "Ukraine"[55]. Another, perhaps somewhat surprising, exception is Shevchenko's primer that is entitled the "South Russian Primer" (*Bukvar' iuzhnorusskii*). Sheikovs'kii writes only about "our language"[56]. The other six books that form our research sample and that even mention the nation, language or country use the terms "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian"[57], although for the early historical period Kulish introduces the term Rus'-Ukraine (*Rus'-Ukraina*)[58]. The dominance of the term "Ukraine" shows that there was wide consensus over national terminology as well as fairly extensive opportunities to use it in print. Those Ukrainians, as for example Mykola Kostomarov, who preferred to use other names for their country were not afraid of censorship, but rather selected their words because of other tactical considerations.

Shevchenko

Taras Shevchenko is more often mentioned in popular textbooks than are the Cossacks. He is definitely "the national hero", whose cult was already well advanced in early 1860s. Except for Hattsuk's, all the other primers as well as some other books either mention him or contain citations and excerpts from his poems (although Kulish could not yet call him by name in his primer that came out already in 1857). Konys'kyi's textbook of mathematics proposes an exercise where one has to count how many hours Shevchenko lived[59]. Iashchenko presents a short biography of the poet, where he emphasises his serf background and love for Ukraine. Although Iashchenko naturally does not write about Shevchenko's sentence, he includes the poem *Na rizdvo* (*On Christmas)* written in Kos-Aral in 1848 that clearly indicates the author's deported status[60]. In general, the most often cited poems are those that contain calls to learn and to value one's own language. In four books, Shevchenko's poem is placed at the very beginning as a motto for the whole publication, while *Khmel'nychchyna* is dedicated to him[61].

National and Social Other

The descriptions of enemies are most often placed in historical context. The Poles are most often described as the worst enemy. This is hardly surprising considering the political situation in which the books were written. After the Poles, the enemies considered to be most awful are the Tartars and Turks, while Swedes are mentioned only once by Hrechulevych. In *Khmel'nychchyna,* Kulish also describes Jews as enemies[62]. Allies are mentioned fairly rarely, and mostly are seen in a negative light. In *Khmel'nychchyna,* Kulish mentions Tartars, Russians, and Swedes as allies at various times[63]. He also depicts the duplicity of the Muscovites and indicates how Cossack political principles were incomprehensible to them. Moscow was successful in war only when aided by the Cossacks. Kulish's description of historical events ends with the onset of Khmel'nyts'kyi's fear of a possible Polish-Russian alliance against the Cossacks[64]. It is fairly understandable why Russians are not mentioned as enemies, but the silence about them as allies in all but one book is remarkable and telling. The wars in which Russians and Ukrainians fought together against common enemies were not something about which the authors wanted their audience to be informed. For reasons of censorship, they could not describe Russia as the threatening "Other", and thus they preferred not to address the subject at all. There is one remarkable exception, Hattsuk's humorous story:

> "Once, from somewhere, a Muscovite came to Ukraine. We have enough such people; probably they have come from their swamps. So he came. This would have been all right, if he felt unpleasant in his own place, or perhaps if there was some misfortune. As it is said, a fish seeks deeper water, and man seeks a better place to live. But no, the Muscovite leaves his country, but does not give up his wicked character. So, it happened. Because of his madness, the Muscovite did not stand quietly and began to do all kinds of evil things. Despite all his cunning tricks, in which he was rather skilful, he was caught. So during interrogation he pretended that he was a Ukrainian; he said that he has been on the road for a long time taking temporary jobs and does not remember in which village he was born. However, it was at once evident that he is a Muscovite. He is used to speaking our language, but has a Muscovite accent, so one can tell, who he is "[65].

The interrogators ask Muscovite linguistic questions, and twice he answers correctly. However, in the end he remembers the Ukrainian word *katsap,* a derisory term for Russians, and this lead him to make a mistake. "At once the interrogators caught him by his beard, and he confessed from where he was and what he had done "[66]. In this story, evildoing is associated with national character, and nationality practically amounts to a crime. On the other hand, the choice of genre indicates that the author was perhaps not fully serious.

Apart from clearly national stereotypes of other nationalities, there are some indications of social antagonism and negative attitude toward privileged classes. An epic poem about Hetman Hanzha-Andyber of Zaporizhzhia in Hattsuk's primer tells how he takes revenge on proud Polish lords who at first despise and mock him because of his simple appearance[67]. Hattsuk, Shevchenko and Sheikovs'kii published popular proverbs that indicate the greediness, laziness and cruelty of the lords[68]. Konys'kyi offers a mathematical exercise that focuses on the labour obligations demanded by the lords from their peasants, and another exercise where a pupil has to calculate how long a starving village will survive on a certain amount of food after a given number of villagers had already died[69]. Together with the emphasis on ideals of social equality and democracy that Iashchenko placed in the past, these examples bring to the fore the aspect of social radicalism and disapproval of the old hierarchic society that was characteristic of Ukrainian nationalism at the time. However, this emphasis is absent in Kulish's and Hrechulevych works, and indeed the latter eagerly propagates the benefits of existing social order[70].

Kulish's and Hattsuk's works, as well as Something About God's World all give a negative assessment of village scribes. Hattsuk indicates that village scribes are proud without reasons[71], while Kulish and the authors of *Something About God's World* claim that they are superficially educated, cheat illiterate people and demand payment from them even when none is due. It is within this context that *Something About God's World* criticises deacons and retired soldiers for bad instruction of children who then become village scribes[72]. Certainly village scribes were less educated than Ukrainian national activists, and the mentioned vices must have often occurred among them. Nevertheless, such a strong condemnation of the whole profession is remarkable especially within a movement that as a rule emphasised equality and human dignity for peasants. One of the reasons for such heavy criticism can be attributed to the social standing of village scribes. Due to the reform of state peasants in the 1840s and of former serfs after 1861, the village administration, more often than previously, handled official documents. Therefore, the profession of a village scribe emerged as a result of government reforms that, for the first time, made literacy attractive to peasants[73]. Since the demand was precisely for those who were able to read and write official documents, the reforms marked the introduction of literacy in Russian to Ukrainian villages. The national activists saw in a village scribe, apart from a relative ignoramus, a representative of Russian literacy and a potentially dangerous rival to their own national literacy project. It is a small wonder that *Something About God's World* called peasants to trust, not teachers, but the learned persons who wanted to help the poor and improve their life[74].

Conclusions

Ukrainian textbooks in the Russian empire from 1857 to 1863 do not contain explicit political opinions, for otherwise they could not have been published. Nevertheless, there is a clear and fairly consistent political aim expressed in most of them; the common people should adopt a Ukrainian national identity that is based on language and on a very selective interpretation of Cossack history. The propagated historical mythology either ignores all the events that would show neighbouring governments or nations as allies, or presents such governments and nations as deceitful friends. In all other instances, neighbouring nations are portrayed as enemies of Ukraine with the exception of medieval Lithuanians, who are seen at least as semi-Ukrainians. Thus, all of the past great deeds the Ukrainian nation has achieved on its own. This indicates that Ukraine is not inherently incapable of acting as a political unit. The identification with Ukraine is presented as more important than any existing government affiliation, and thus the first may possibly overrun the latter if they conflict. The idea of independent Ukraine looms large within the textbooks.

Having a strong Ukrainian ethnic identity does not, of course, automatically indicate disloyalty to the Russian empire. One may have an ethno-linguistic affiliation that differs from one's government affiliation. Moreover, national identity itself may be multidimensional and inclusive. In some of their public writings in Russian, Kulish and Mykola Kostomarov presented the relation between Russians and Ukrainians as a very specific one. Although a Russian could not be Ukrainian or vice versa, they had a special relationship with each other as constituent nations of Rus' and could both profit from mutual influence[75]. Such theories, however, are completely absent in popular books, which offer Ukraine as the sole framework of identification, one that is not complementary with any other. The ideas about the special relationship between the two nations of Rus' were aimed solely at the Russian educated public.

There were various opinions within the Ukrainian intelligentsia on some important issues, for example: orthography, the relationship with the privileged classes, the importance of Orthodoxy as a criterion of nationality, and the national character of the government during the period of Kyivan Rus'. The number and content of Ukrainian textbooks show that from the beginning of the reign to 1863 the opportunities to disseminate national ideas outside the relatively small circle of national intelligentsia were relatively good. Whatever obstacles censorship presented, it did not much hinder the basic message of the national movement from reaching the public. During this period, the Ukrainophiles fully exploited existing opportunities.

In the light of the contents of the textbooks, I find the accusations of separatism levelled by some Russian politicians and right-wing journalists against Ukrainians to be grounded. At least in the beginning of 1860s, the Russian government received reliable evidence regarding existing support for independence in the form of documents confiscated from arrested Ukrainian activists[76]. That the aim of at least some Ukrainians was some kind of national state also was not hard to conclude even on the basis of lawfully published texts. Naturally, admitting the plausibility of the accusations does not indicate that I share the moral judgement that the enemies of the Ukrainophiles passed on them. The Ukrainian intelligentsia had a full right to develop its own nationalism like other stateless ethnic groups that consisted mainly of unprivileged classes. In the 19th century, as well as today, the difficult question of defining the relation and exact dividing line between Russians and Ukrainians was and is a political, not a moral question.

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[1] Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. – London, 1991.

[2] Smith, Anthony D. The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford, 1986. The comment about Ukrainians appears on Pp. 29 – 30.

[3] Pokazhchyk novoi ukrains'koi literatury. (1798 – 1883 r.). – Kyiv, 1883. – Pp. 71 – 74. I have added some publications that are not included in this bibliography. Not all titles are informative and not all the books are available to me. It may well be that the list is not complete.

[4] Komarov, 1883. Pp. 71 – 74. The largest editions were Taras Shevchenko's Bukvar iuzhnorusski (1861) and Stefan Opatovych's Opovidannia z sviatoho pysannia (1863). However, most copies of Shevchenko's work were sent to the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Arsenii, who refused to distribute them. See Miller, A. Ukrainskii vopros v politike vlastei i russkom obcshestvennom mnenii (vtoraja polovina XIX v.). – St. Petersburg, 2000. – Pp. 66 – 68.

[5] Lemke, M. Ocherki osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia "shestidesiatykh godov". Po neizdannym dokumentam. – St.Petersburg, 1908. – Pp. 418 – 420, 434 – 438. Zelnik, Reginald R. "The Sunday-School Movement in Russia, 1859 – 62." Journal of Modern History 37 (1965). – Pp. 159 – 162.

[6] Lemke, 1908. Pp. 402 – 406. Sbornik rasporyazhenii po ministerstvu narodnogo prosvecsheniia. I – XVI. – St.Petersburg, 1866-1907. – Vol. III. – Pp. 423 – 426.

[7] Pobirchenko, Nataliya. Pedagogichna i prosvitnyts'ka diial'nist' ukrains'kykh gromad u drugii polovyni XIX na pochatku XX stolittia. U dvokh knygah. – Kyiv, 2000. – 1. – Pp. 16 – 20, 23.

[8] CDIA Uk. F. 442, op. 809, spr. 179, ark. 15. Report of a school in the file of the Governor-General of Kyiv.

[9] Pobirchenko, 2000. – 1. – Pp. 45 – 46.

[10] Pobirchenko, 2000. – 2. – 27 – Pp. 31, 64 – 65, 67 – 69, 81 – 82, 84 – 85.

[11] CDIA Uk. F. 442, op. 810, spr. 132, ark. 235 – 242. The report of the investigating commission from 3rd March, 1861, concerning Volodymyr Antonovych, whose activities are considered not only harmless, but even useful. It is recommended that he and his supporters write articles in the press expressing their ideas (ark. 241 – 242).
[12] Miller, 2000. – Pp. 65 – 66. Pobirchenko, 2000. – 1. – Pp. 49 – 50, 62 – 63.
[13] [Kulish Panteleimon] Hramatka. St. Petersburg, 1857. [Stronin:] Azbuka po metode Zolotova dlia iuzhno-russkogo kraia. – Poltava, 1861. Derkach, Il'ia: Ukrains'ka hramatka. – Moscow, 1861. Sheikovskyi, K. Domashnya nauka. I. Pochatky. – Kyiv, 1860. Sheikovskyi, K. Domashnia nauka. II. Vyshchi pochatky. – Kyiv, 1861. Iashchenko, L. Hramatka za dlia ukrains'koho liudu. Moscow, 1862. Hattsuk, Mykola: Ukrains'ka abetka. Moscow, 1861. Shevchenko, Taras. Bukvar iuzhnorusskii. – St.Petersburg, 1861.
[14] Grechulevich, Vasilii. Besedy katekhizicheskie, pri ob'iasnenii molitvy Gospodnei, na malorossiiskom iazyke. – St.Petersburg, 1855. Grechulevich. Besedy katekhizicheskie, na simvol very, govorennyia na malorossiiskom iazyke. – St.Petersburg, 1856. Grechulevich. Propovedy na malorossiiskom iazyke. Izd. vtoroe, ispravlennoe. – St.Petersburg, 1857. Opatovych, Stefan. Opovidanja z svjatoho pysanyja. Vypusk pershyi. Tserkov' Bozha patriarkhal'na (v sem'i). – Petersburg, 1863.
[15] Kulish, Panteleimon. Khmel'nychyna. Istorichne opovidannia. – St.Petersburg, 1861.
[16] Konys'kyi, Oleksandr. Aryhmetyka abo schotnytsia. Dlya ukrains'kyh shkil. – St.Petersburg, 1863.
[17] Decsho pro svit Bozhyi. – Kyiv, 1863.
[18] Pravdyve slovo do selian ta khutorian. – Kharkiv, 1862. (№. 88. – Pribavlenii k Khar'kov. Gubernsk. Vedomostjam.)
[19] This, of course, is my interpretation and depends on how one reads the books. I have included in the national message, for instance, all information about Shevchenko and his poems, as well as the emphasis on Cossack history.
[20] Longer passages about Cossacks are in Hattsuk, 1861. – Pp. 40 – 43, 63 – 81; Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 10 – 14, 27 – 40; Shevchenko, 1861. – Pp. 14 – 22; Sheikovs'kii, 1861. – Pp. 14 – 18, 19; and Iashchenko, 1862. – Pp. 21 – 22.
[21] Grechulevich, 1857. – P. 35.
[22] Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 28 – 29.
[23] CDIA Uk. f. 442, op. 808, spr. 99, ark. 1 – 2. Vasil'chikov to the governors and to the Head of Third Section, Dolgorukov, 24th May, 1858.
[24] RGIA f. 772, op. 1, delo 4503, l. 4.
[25] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 27 – 28, 34, 41 – 43, 51,63, 67, 77, 81, 95 – 96, 105 – 108, 111, 124 – 125.
[26] Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 31 – 32, 35, 39 – 40. Kulish, 1861. – P. 21.
[27] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 25 – 26, 72, 79 – 86.
[28] Iashchenko, 1862. – Pp. 21 – 22.
[29] Iashchenko, 1862. – P. 22.
[30] Lemke, M. Politicheskie processy v Rossii v 1860-h godah. – Moscow, 1923. – Pp. 5 – 6, 28, 46 – 47, 50.
[31] Hattsuk, 1861. – Pp. 40 – 42, 67 – 81.
[32] Konys'kyi, 1863. – P. 24.
[33] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 7, 9.
[34] Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 31 – 32, 35 – 36, 39 – 40.
[35] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 8 – 13, 17.
[36] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 115 – 121.
[37] Kulish, 1861. – P. 113.
[38] Hattsuk, 1861. – Pp. III – IV, 1 – 10, 100 – 104, 115 – 117.
[39] Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 146 – 149.
[40] Sheikovs'kii, 1860. – Pp. 12 – 13.
[41] Iashchenko, 1862. – P. 21.
[42] Grechulevich, 1857. – Pp. VI – XI.
[43] Grechulevich, Vasilii. Propovedi, na malorossiiskom iazyke. – St.Petersburg, 1849. – P. III. The publication of this book shows that there was no general ban on Ukrainian-language publishing at the time. Unlike the later decrees of 1863 and 1876, the limitations that were in force after 1847 concerned the ideological contents of publications and not the language itself.
[44] Grechulevich, 1857. – Pp. VI – XI.
[45] Grechulevich, 1857. – P. 129.
[46] Hattsuk, 1861. – Pp. 105 – 117; Kulish, 1857. – P. 2; Stronin, 1861. – Pp. 19 – 20.
[47] Sheikovs'kii, 1861. – Pp. 14 – 15.
[48] Lemke, 1923. – Pp. 6, 28, 35.
[49] Deshcho pro svit Bozhyi. – Kyiv, 1863. – Pp. 7 – 9; Sheikovs'kii, 1860. – P. 13.
[50] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 18 – 19, 33.
[51] Kulish, 1861. – P. 35.
[52] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 28, 34.
[53] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 47 – 48.

[54] Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 45 – 52, 60 – 61.
[55] Grechulevich, 1857. – P. 129.
[56] Sheikovs'kii, 1860. – Pp. 12 – 13.
[57] Hattsuk, 1861; Kulish, 1857; Kulish, 1861; Derkach, 1861; Stronin, 1861; and Iashchenko, 1862.
[58] Kulish, 1861. – P. 16.
[59] Konys'kyi, 1863. – P. 23.
[60] Iashchenko, 1862. – Pp. 19 – 20.
[61] Shevchenko's poems or citations are in: Derkach, 1861. – Pp. 1, 17 – 20; Kulish, 1857. – Pp. 41 – 43; Sheikovs'kii, 1861. – P. 1; Iashchenko, 1862. – Pp. 1, 14, 17 – 18; and Deshcho pro svit Bozhyi, 1863. – P. 1.
[62] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 24, 61.
[63] Kulish, 1861. – Pp. 105 – 108, 110 – 111.
[64] Kulish, 1861. – P. 112.
[65] Hattsuk, 1861. – P. 54.
[66] Hattsuk, 1861. – P. 55.
[67] Hattsuk, 1861. – Pp. 67 – 81.
[68] Hattsuk, 1861. – Pp. 56, 58 – 60; Shevchenko, 1861. – Pp. 23 – 24; Sheikovs'kii, 1860. – P. 10.
[69] Konys'kyi, 1863. – Pp. 24, 56 – 57.
[70] Grechulevich, 1857. – Pp. 86 – 89, 102 – 103, 106 – 107.
[71] Hattsuk, 1861. – P. 61
[72] Deshcho pro svit Bozhyi. – Pp. 3 – 4, 9 – 10; Kulish, 1857. – P. 2
[73] Brooks, Jeffrey. When Russia Learned to Read. Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861 – 1917. – Princeton, N.J.,1988. – P. 4 – 8.
[74] Decsho pro svit Bozhyj. – P.10.
[75] Kostomarov. "O federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi." Osnova 1/1861. – Pp. 138 – 141, 145, 148 – 152,158. This idea is expressed even in his "Dve russkie narodnosti" (Osnova 3/1861. – P. 77), although there it contradicts the rest of the article. Kulish: "Ob otnoshenii malorossiiskoi slovesnosti k obshche-russkoi. Epilog k Chernoj Rade." In: Chernaja Rada. Hronika 1663 goda. – Moscow, 1857. – Pp. 231 – 253.
[76] RGVIA f. 801, op. 80/21, 3-e otd., 2-oi stol, 1862g., delo 48, sv. 667, l. 502 – 503. Samostaijne Slovo № 3 – an issue of the handwritten journal of the Kyivan Hromada. Gnyp, Myhajlo: Hromadsky ruh 1860 r.r. na Ukrajini. I. Poltavs'ka hromada. – Kyiv, 1930. – Pp. 36 – 37.

Йоганнес РЕМІ
Гельсінкі

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ІДЕНТИТЕТ В ПІДРУЧНИКАХ, НАПИСАНИХ НАЦІОНАЛЬНИМИ ДІЯЧАМИ ДЛЯ НАРОДУ (1857 – 1863)

Стаття містить короткий огляд книг українською мовою, опублікованих в 1857 – 1863 роках, які призначалися для народу. Особливу увагу звернуто на висвітлення в цих книгах національної історії, відносин між суспільними класами, життя і творчості Тараса Шевченка, питань щодо кордонів України, української мови, релігійних конфесій а також зображення росіян.

В статті зроблено висновок, що в ті роки було можливим писати й видавати книги, які мали на меті поширювати виключно українську свідомість серед селян. Хоча цензура запобігала неприхованому висловленню нелояльності по відношенню до імперії, деякі публікації містили ідею, що українці, як народ, здатні до самостійної політичної діяльності.

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UKRAINIANS IN FINLAND, 1917 – 1918

The democratic liberties proclaimed during the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia substantially changed the life of the country. Clear indicators of these social-political changes were the resurgent of national life and the activization of national liberation movements that came to be concentrated in leading centers. In Ukraine, on March 3 – 4, 1917, representatives of different political forces united by the idea of building a national state founded the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv. At this time, many Ukrainians, who lived outside the boundaries of their ethnic homeland, actively participated in the Ukrainian national movement.

In the first months of the revolution, the national movement spread among Ukrainians living in Finland. Mainly, these were sailors from the main base of the Baltic fleet that was located in Helsingfors (Helsinki), soldiers of the 42th army corps with its headquarters in Viipuri (Vyborg), boarder troops, coastal artillery service units, and other such troops positioned on Finnish territory. Ukrainians comprised the second largest ethnic group after Russians deployed in the Russian units stationed in Finland.

Helsingfors served as the center of the Ukrainian movement. At the beginning of April 1917, on the initiative of a group of Ukrainian soldiers, an announcement calling for a gathering of Ukrainians living in the city was published in the local newspaper *Izvestiia Gel'singforskogo Soveta Deputatov Armii, flota i Rabochykh Sveaborgskogo porta*. On April 9, about 2,000 Ukrainians congregated in the courtyard of the Abo barracks. A Ukrainian Military Rada headed by the headquarter captain Kostiuk was appointed to direct the Ukrainian movement. Soldiers and officers from Helsingfors, as well as representatives of the Petrograd Ukrainian Rada spoke to the assembled. They called for the proclamation of an autonomous Ukrainian state, and sent a congratulatory telegram to the head of the Ukrainian Central Rada, Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi. In their statement to the Helsingfors Rada of Army and Navy Deputies and of the Sveaborg Port Workers, the Ukrainians emphasized that, with the fall of the Tsar, Russia became an independent country where all nation have the right to self-determination. They appealed to the Russians for solidarity, noting that Ukraine seeks its autonomy within the framework of the Russian Republic where the Ukrainian and Russian people can live in peace and harmony[1]. A brief variant of the appeal was published in Russian in *Izvestiia Gel'singforskogo Soveta Deputatov Armii, flota i Rabochykh Sveaborgskogo porta*[2], and 1,000 leaflets with the text of the appeal were distributed in garrisons and on ships[3]. On April 16, near the very same Ado barracks, nearly 5,000 soldiers, sailors, officers and civilians attended another Ukrainian gathering.

Russian representatives of the Executive Committee of the Rada of Army and Navy Deputies and of City Workers greeted the gathered announcing that Russia mandates freedom and autonomy for all the nations that live within its borders. They swore this embracing the Ukrainian flag. For their part, the Ukrainians proclaimed their willingness to defend a Russian Federate Republic that includes within its boarders an autonomous Ukraine[4]. The Ukrainian national movement spread beyond Helsingfors to the Russian garrisons in Finland; Ukrainian communities developed in the army and on shipboard. Ukrainians publicized the support their caused received from the Central Rada in Kyiv, requested the "ukrainization" of segments of the Russian army, and made known their desire for an autonomous Ukraine. At manifestations and gatherings proposals to declare autonomy without waiting for the convocation of the Russian Constituent Assembly were voiced. In the mindset of Ukrainians, the immediate declaration of autonomy would accelerate the resolution of topical and vital issues for Ukraine. "Autonomy will give us the right to decide for ourselves questions regarding land," – emphasized one of the Ukrainian appeals[5].

On April 30, 1917, the membership of the Ukrainian Millitary Rada was reformulated so as to assure effective leadership. It now consisted of 41 deputies and was overseen by a presidium of seven (head – Ivanchenko; deputy heads – Pys'mennyi and Pashchenko). The Rada was divided into the regulatory and cultural-educational commissions and the dramatic section[6]. About 2,500 sailors, 1,500 soldiers, and 150 workers-expatriates reported to Ukrainian Military Rada, and approximately twenty Ukrainian naval officers and ten Ukrainian army officers collaborated with the Rada[7].

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Ukrainians in Helsingfors maintained contact with Ukrainian organization outside of Finland. At the beginning of May, their representatives became acquainted with the work of the Ukrainian members of the military stationed in Revel' (Tallinn), and, later, a session of the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors appraised the importance of established relations with the organization of Ukrainians in the Revel' garrison, which counted almost 1,000 members. At the same time, a Ukrainian delegation from Helsingfors visited Sevastopol', the main base of the Black Sea fleet, to discuss pressing questions regarding the Ukrainian movement in the navy[8]. The Ukrainian Military Rada at Helsingfors also sent representative to Kyiv establishing contacts with the Ukrainian Central Rada. They were directed to petition for the national and territorial autonomy of Ukraine, to undertake the "ukrainization" of parts of the Russian army and of individual navy ships, and to stand in favor of peace without annexation and contributions[9].

The First All Ukrainian Military Congress, held in Kyiv at the beginning of May 1917, played an important role in consolidating the Ukrainian military movement. Ukrainian military delegates from Finland assumed an active role at this congress. The sailor S.Pys'mennyi and the ensign A.Pevny were elected members of the Ukrainian Military General Committee, which was formed at the congress and entrusted with overseeing Ukrainian organizations within the Russian army. The Congress authorized the further "ukrainization" of several ships in the Baltic fleet with the goal of having them manned exclusively by Ukrainian officers and sailors[10].

In May 1917, Ukrainian patriots attempted to "make Ukrainian" the torpedo boat Ukraina, which was based at Helsingfors; they demanded immediate action on this matter from the commander of the Baltic fleet[11]. At first, the Helsingfors Rada of Army and Navy Deputies and of the Sveaborg Port Workers supported the Ukrainians. Later, however, they deemed such "ukrainization" impossible due to the war and resulting technical difficulties[12]. Moreover, Russian organizations in Helsingfors feared that if this "ukrainization" succeeded, Ukrainians would request the "ukrainization" of the battleships "Poltava" and "Sevastopol'" also manned by a large number of Ukrainians[13].

The "ukrainization" of army units also met with difficulties. While the Ukrainian Military Rada demanded the staffing of individual army units entirely with Ukrainians[14], the Russian military command did its utmost to prevent the concentration of Ukrainians in separate units. In the face of such obstacles, on May 18, 1918, the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors convened Ukrainians serving in the military units of the Russian army in Finland in order to resolve organizational questions regarding the proposed "ukrainization". The First Ukrainian Military Congress in Finland started on May 28, 1917. It recognized the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors as the central governing body of Ukrainian military servicemen in Finland and insisted on the immediate formation of separate Ukrainian military units[15].

The Ukrainian military in Finland supported the acts of the central military organization of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian Military Rada protested the prohibition to organize a Second All Ukrainian Military Congress in Kyiv that was issued in early June, 1917, by the Russian Military Minister, O.Kerens'kyi, and labeled this act a violation of citizen rights in independent Russia. In a telegram to the Secretary of War, Ukrainians expressed their expectation that Russian democracy will honor the rights of nations to self-determination[16].

The Ukrainian community of Helsingfors supported the First Universal issued on June 10, 1917, by the Central Rada in Kyiv that proclaimed the autonomy of Ukraine. On June 25, 1917, a large manifestation organized in Kyiv espoused the decision of the Central Rada; the manifestation participants approved a 1 % deduction from the monthly income of every Ukrainian to be set aside for "educational needs and for the organization of national life in Ukraine"[17].

The proclamation of the First Universal helped activate the public life of Ukrainians in Finland. Ukrainian officers on ships and in the army engaged in rousing, cultural-educational work. At the request of the Ukrainian Military Rada, the city government of Helsingfors provided several auditoriums in the building of a woman's high school for history and ethnography classes. A Ukrainian school was founded, and the organization *Prosvita* (Education) began conducting its work from within the facilities of National School of Higher Learning. Prosvita organized courses on Ukrainian history and literature, as well as lectures on politics, medicine and other scholarly subjects, and published a small Ukrainian-Russian dictionary[18]. Ukrainian amateur-actors put on several Ukrainian plays at the Aleksander Theater in Helsingfors. The staging of the play *Natalka Poltavka* by the prominent Ukrainian writer, Ivan Kotliarevs'kyi, was especially popular. In response to public demand repeat performances were organized and the money raised was used to meet the needs of Ukrainian organizations in Finland. After the June 18, 1917 performance, over 1600 Finish marks were transferred to the Ukrainian fund[19].

On July 3, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv issued the Second Universal. In accordance with an agreement reached with the Provisional Government, this document specifically addressed the "ukrainization" of units in the Russian army. The idea of forming Ukrainian national units found support among the Ukrainians in the military stationed in Finland. A special commission was formed alongside the Ukrainian Military Rada in Helsingfors dedicated "exclusively to overseeing and supervising the segregation of Ukrainian soldiers into separate

units". The Rada requested regulations, orders and instructions regarding the "formation of small, as well as large Ukrainian units" from the Ukrainian Military General Committee [20].

Nevertheless, Russian military authorities created obstacles for "ukrainization". They did not recognize elective Ukrainian military organizations as equal with existing military committees in the army, restricted the work of the of the Ukrainian Military General Committee, and prohibited the activities of the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies – one of the leading units of the Ukrainian military. The measures of the Russian command trigger protests among Ukrainian service men everywhere, including Finland. On August 19, 1917, a general assembly of Ukrainians of the Sveaborg garrison classified the actions of the Russian authorities as counter-revolutionary. This assembly recognized the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies as its foremost national entity. The social democrats of Finland supported the Ukrainians. On August 23, 1917, they sent a telegram to the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies. It stated "We are anxiously following your heroic battle for the right of nations to self-determination and wish you all the success in the cause of securing freedom for both nations, a cause that has remain unshaken even under the pressures exerted upon our Senat"[21].

Under such conditions, on September 24, 1917, the Ukrainian Military Rada was called into session, and it was decided to transform the Rada into the Regional Ukrainian Military Rada of Finland, which would have the same rights as similar existing organizations in Russia. A new Executive Committee was elected; it was subdivided into three sections concerned with organization-inspection, culture-education, and concerts-meetings. Addressing Ukrainians in Finland, the Executive Committee stated: "We hope that Ukrainian comrades will respond to our appeal and together with us will follow the thorny path to a brighter future for all democracy in the Ukrainian nation"[22].

Ukrainians expressed support for the Finnish National Liberation Movement, and passed resolutions that attempted to avert the participation of Ukrainian soldiers in battles against the Finish cause. On October 10, 1917, the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies sent an order to the Regional Ukrainian Military Rada of Finland in which it was stated that in Kyiv "there is information that an entire Ukrainian division will be transferred to Finland. Obviously, the Central Government [Russian] is issuing this order with the aim of suppressing the Finish independence movement – on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to sow enmity between the friendships of the Finish and Ukrainian people. Therefore, we ask that you use all means, all your authority, to prevent Ukrainian soldiers from interfering in the peaceful life of the Finish people. In spite of all efforts, should the Finns become subject to violence at the hands of Ukrainians, we demand that in the name of the All Ukrainian Rada of Military Deputies such actions be ordered to stop immediately"[23].

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 25, 1917, that took place in Petrograd entirely changed the standing of Ukrainians in Finland. The Ukrainian Central Rada did not recognize the government of the Soviet of People's Commissars in Petrograd. Instead, on November 7, 1917, it issued its third Universal, which proclaimed the formation of The Ukrainian National Republic, a future constituent of a democratic Russia. As a result of this action the negative attitude of the Bolsheviks toward the Ukrainian national movement increased. In particular, The Bolshevik command of the Baltic Fleet reacted with hostility to the demands of Ukrainian sailors to be transferred to the Black Sea Fleet. On November 28, 1917, such transfers were prohibited. The command of the Baltic Fleet noted: "the "ukrainization" of the Black Sea Fleet is a question of state significance" and therefore due to "political and strategic considerations any "ukrainization" of the Black Sea Fleet is forbidden"[24]. In December 1917, a delegation of Ukrainian sailors from Helsingfors and Revel' demanding the transfer of all Ukrainian from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea by January 1, 1918, achieved no results[25]. After the Soviet of People's Commissars issued its December 4th ultimatum to the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv, the Regional Ukrainian Military Rada of Finland found itself in difficult circumstances. The ultimatum in effect declared war between Bolshevik Russia and the Ukrainian National Republic.

On December 6, 1917, the parliament of Finland declared independence, and on December 31, the government of Soviet Russia recognized the new Finnish state. Although formally independent with the start of 1918, in the difficult international context of World War I Finland's future was uncertain. In particular, the presence of Russian troops on Finish territory troubled the new government. Even though by the start of the summer of 1917, the number of Russian troops decreased by half, they still numbered about 42,000[26]. Ukrainians returning to their homeland contributed to the decrease in the number of Russian troops; already in the autumn of 1917, Ukrainians began leaving Finland in an organized fashion. Among the first to leave the country was an artillery company of the garrison at the Vyborg fortress that had been "ukrainianized". By December this process was considerably more active, and, in January 1918, Petro Slyvenko[27], the commissar of Ukrainian soldiers in Finland, reported in Kyiv, that there are few Ukrainians remaining in Finland, especially within the 42nd corpus. The Ukrainian military that remained in Finland were "getting ready to leave the country as soon as possible"[28].

Russian troops that remained in Finland exerted a destabilizing influence on the internal political scene of the country. K.Mannerheim and his associates perceived the presence of Russian army as the main threat to Finnish

independence and to the stability of the country. For this reason, the disarmament of Russian troops was established as a goal, and was carried out in the end of January 1918 on the order of K.Mannerheim. In the course of four days, in the north of Finland, about 5,000 Russian army service men were interned and a large quantity of military equipment was confiscated. According to K.Mannerheim, "in the ensuing circumstances it was impossible to reach an agreement regarding the return of the captives to their homeland, and he ordered that they be transported on horseback across the boarder in the area along the north shore of Lake Ladoga. Such transport of the captives came to a halt due to boarder disputes. Ukrainians and Poles were given freedom immediately, and Russian officers, with the exception of those under arrest, had the right to lease private apartments"[29].

On the same night as K.Mannerheim began the action in the north, the Red Guard in the south of the country deposed the government and established a "red government" – a soviet of the people. A civil war began in Finland that ended in mid-May with the victory of the Senate forces lead by K.Mannerheim. In March 1918, Germany and Russia signed the Brest-Lithuanian Peace treaty, which contained a point regarding the removal of Russian troops from Finland. Petro Slyvenko, Commissar of Ukrainian Affairs and Valentin Vidstedt, head of the Ukrainian Committee, supervised the return of Ukrainian civilians and military home from Finland, and, from September 1918, the Embassy and Consulate of Ukraine in Finland handled this matter.

In the spring of 1918, P.Slyvenko started preparations for the departure of Ukrainians. He reported the following to the Ukrainian government in Kyiv: "We have no official representative in Finland, and circumstances have forced me temporarily to assume responsibility on the basis of the mandate issued at the end of last year by the Central Committee of Ukrainians of the North Region for the colony of Ukrainians. The status of Ukrainians in Finland is critical. They were not able to leave Finland in a timely manner due to Russian disorganization. There are no staples or means of existence. I am requesting immediate assistants in relocating them to Ukraine"[30].

The Finish government allowed P.Slyvenko to establish an office of the Ukrainian Commissar setting aside an eight-room apartment in the center of the city for this purpose. A Ukrainian flag above the entrance identified the office. All Ukrainians could acquire a temporary trilingual identification certificate printed in Ukrainian, Finish and German, along with a photo identification card. Issuance of these certificates required documentary proof of birthplace or of land ownership in Ukraine. Everyone who received a certificate was obligated to swear allegiance to Ukraine. In total, nearly one thousand Ukrainians were registered in Helsingfors and other cities of Finland. During registration, voluntary donations were collected; the money mainly was used for assisting the poor.

At the time, the evacuation of Ukrainians through Russian territory was impossible, so their return to their homeland required permission from the German military command for the organization of the necessary transport from one of the Baltic ports. The Germans blamed technical and organizational difficulties, and/or the unstable political situation in Ukraine, for the delay in reaching an understanding regarding the conditions and itinerary of the return journey.

Ukrainians from other cities in Finland began arriving in Helsingfors, and their accommodation became a critical problem. The Finish government assigned a building that could house 150 persons for this purpose. When it became clear that the evacuation would be delayed, the question of material assistance, especially in the form of food stuffs, for the Ukrainians became urgent. At this time, food in Finland was distributed only on the basis of ration cards that were unavailable for foreigners. Due to the efforts of P.Slyvenko food ration cards were given to Ukrainians. P.Slyvenko also petitioned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland for a money loan. He received a positive reply, but had to decline the offer due to lack of information regarding circumstances in Ukraine. Although P.Slyvenko had no official status, the Finish government took his efforts seriously. For example, as P.Slyvenko himself noted "when the White Guard searched a Ukrainian woman (the wife of a sailor) and confiscated an unusual quantity of products by Finish standards (4 poods of flour and ½ poods of sugar), after my report the items that remained intact were returned and the rest were financially reimbursed. I, in my turn, requisitioned some of the food for the hungry"[31].

Meanwhile the mass forced deportation of Russians was taking place in Finland. The Finish government was more favorably inclined to the Ukrainians. P.Slyvenko wrote: "This attitude of the Finish government toward Ukrainians can be explained, I think, on the one hand, as intended to underscore the different stance taken toward the Russians, and, on the other hand, as a hope that Ukraine will prove useful as a state where bread can be acquired, as this was a key issue in Finish politics of the time. When rumors depicting Ukraine as a traitor because of the country's refusal to provide bread for Germany were circulated by German sources, clearly such information seriously bothered different circles. Regarding these rumors, it is possible that they were intended to dissipate the intense desire of the Finns to establish direct relations with our country"[32].

After long delays, German leadership permitted Ukrainians to go home from Finland; the departure of the steamship "Rus'" was scheduled for about June 12, 1918. It was supposed to deliver the repatriates to Libava (Liepaia) from where they were to continue by train. Seven hundred individuals (including 130 children) signed up for the departure. They paid 250 Finish marks for a first class ticket, 175 marks for a second class ticket and 60

marks for a third class ticket. Those who had no money traveled for free. The Finnish government provided enough food for 250 individuals for ten days. P.Slyvenko was put in charge of the operation; his deputy was the doctor, Oleksandr Krups'kyi.

After one and a half days the steamship successfully arrived at Libava, where the Ukrainians spent two weeks waiting for a train to Ukraine. In this time the number of passengers decreased to 330. Many individuals continued on at their own expense, and about 230 former military servicemen, acting on the order of German leadership, took a special train to Kalinkovichi, where they joined Ukrainian military units. On June 28, the train with the repatriates left Libava following the route through Grodno – Brest – Kovel' – Holoby to arrive in Kyiv in the early evening of July 7th [33].

Ukrainians from other Finnish localities also departed for home in an organized fashion. On April 29, 1918, after the army of the White Guard freed Vyborg, Ukrainians living in the city united in their effort to leave for home. On May 13, 1918, the governor of Vyborg order the formation a Commission of Ukrainian Citizens headed by L.Konstantynovych that was to deal primarily with the repatriation of Ukrainians. The commission registered 348 Ukrainians giving them "temporary certificates" to replace their passports. On June 8, 1918, about one hundred Ukrainians were sent home and, on July 14, another seventy-four left for Ukraine[34].

At the start of summer in 1918, the Ukrainians who remained in Helsingfors formed the Ukrainian Committee headed by the former naval engineer and mechanic Valentyn Vidstedt, who was born in the city of Khorol in the Poltava region. At the end of July 1918, V. Vidstedt informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian State that the Committee managed to organize a group of Ukrainians who departed for home on July 16th.[35] On September 18, P.Slyvenko returned to Helsingfors as a consular representative. His assignment was to complete the registration of Ukrainians living in Finland and to oversee their return to their homeland. In the course of his work, P.Slyvenko came to be convinced that the ethnic Ukrainians who remained in the country were hostile to independent Ukraine. P.Slyvenko wrote to Kyiv: "Registration is not yet completed, but my guess is that the individuals who have the right to citizenship in the State [Ukraine] and who remain in Finland is probably in the tens. Tomorrow, on October 4, a group of migrants will leave for Ukraine…"[36]

In November 1918, yet another fifty-four Ukrainians left for home[37]. According to the registry of the Ukrainian Consulate at the end of 1918 only 107 Ukrainians with Ukrainian citizenship remained in Helsingfors[38]. Later, P.Slyvenko informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic that the "Ukrainian colony in Finland is small and consists mostly of individuals who are little aware (Russian Jews of Ukrainian decent) and who cannot in any way be used to assist our cause"[39].

Thus, in 1917 Ukrainians in Finland actively participated in the Ukrainian national liberation movement, and the organizations they formed supported the politics of the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv. Ukrainians in Finland sought the proclamation of Ukrainian autonomy and the "ukrainization" of Russian army units. After the October Revolution in Petrograd, Ukrainian organizations in Finland did not recognize the Bolshevik regime, and from the fall of 1917 through 1918, they organized the return of Ukrainians to their homeland. By the beginning of 1919 most of the Ukrainians, who had been in Finland during these critical years, found their way back home.

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УКРАЇНЦІ У ФІНЛЯНДІЇ В 1917 – 1918 РОКАХ

На початку 1917 року в російських військових частинах, дислокованих на території Фінляндії, українці займали друге за чисельністю місце після росіян. Переважно це були матроси Балтійського флоту, головна база якого знаходилась у Гельсінгфорсі (Гельсінкі), а також солдати 42-го армійського корпусу зі штабом у Виборзі, прикордонних військ, гарнізонів фортів, обслуги берегової артилерії тощо.

Після лютневої революції в Петрограді українці у Фінляндії активно включились в український національно-визвольний рух. Створені ними національні організації підтримували політику Української Центральної Ради у Києві, виступали за автономію України. Після жовтневого перевороту у Петрограді вони не визнали більшовицької влади.

В статті висвітлюється діяльність українських національних організацій у Фінляндії, їх спроби українізувати декілька кораблів Балтійського флоту, сформувати військові частини, укомплектовані українцями.

З осені 1917 року розпочалося організоване повернення українців на батьківщину, яке тривало впродовж усього 1918 року. Цією справою займалися комісар українських справ у Фінляндії, Український комітет, Посольство і консульство Української Держави.

На початок 1919 року більшість українців, яких доля закинула в цей переломний час у Фінляндію, повернулись в Україну.

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Kyiv

PROTO-FINNIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTIC AND GENETIC CONTACTS

I. Prehistorical Linguistic Contacts in Eastern Europe

Proto-Finnic – Indo-European language contacts begin with the appearance of the Indo-Europeans (IE) in the steppes of Eastern (E.) Europe. This means that these contacts had existed for thousands of years. The most ancient evidence consists of numerous iranisms and isolated tokharisms in Finnic languages (see Joki; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov). Also, some Proto-Finnic borrowings appear in Tokharian, Avestian and later in Baltic, Germanic and even Latin (squalus < kala, – Manzelli, p. 474; cf. the survey in Tyschenko 2001). More recent direct turcisms are known in all Uralic languages except for Baltic-Finnic and Saami; numerous germanisms appear in Baltic-Finnic and Hungarian; – and slavicisms, balticisms and iranisms are common to all Finno-Ugrian (FU) languages (cf. Manzelli, p. 492). Hundreds of Baltic and German borrowings into Finnish have been studied (cf. Hakulinen, Joki, SSA etc.). It is worth noting that all of the numerous common Slavic iranisms are also presented in one of the FU languages. The Slav. bogъ, sъto, xata, siatъ "he says" correspond to Mord. pavas. Fin. sata, kota, Udm. siźïnï "promise". Taking into consideration the fact that the period of Slavic-Iranian language contacts was incomparably shorter than that of Irano-Finnic (cf. Tyschenko 2000), the above mentioned correlation becomes more important. Borrowing the expression of V.Toporov and O.Trubachev, at a certain time period Slavic "joined" Finnic-Iranian language contacts (p. 245).

Linguists pay special attention to numerous more recent Slavic-Finnic language correspondences. It is assumed that contacts of medieval Baltic-Finnic tribes with ancestors of present-day Slavs can be traced as far back as the 6th c. AD. However, "some borrowings, as their phonetic forms suggest, occurred already in the I mil. BC (sic) being received from W. Slavs who settled the Vistula area at the time" (Osnovy, p. 8; Häkkinen, p. l62 – l66). Indeed, Ptolomaeus in the 2nd c. AD mentioned the ΦINNOI people near the mouth of the Vistula (Manzelli, p. 198). Not so far to the NE off the Vistula the Finnic-speaking Livonian state was founded some centuries later. It existed until the 13th c.

As to the prehistoric ethnic processes in Upper Dnipro area, "the analysis of the river names to the N from Prypiat' up to the Niemen sources proves quite undeniably that E. Slavs ... came here from the East; it means from the Dnipro left bank, and only later, already in historic times, expanded towards the N, displacing or assimilating the local population" (Toporov, Trubachev, p. 244).

If this assumption stands, then in the times before the coming of E. Slavs to the Dnipro area, direct contact between Baltic and Volga-Finnic speaking tribes would have been possible to the E of the Dnipro. Some language evidence has been collected on the topic. In particular, such Baltic borrowings as "pe(j)el" "knife", k'ertš "left" can be found in Mordovian and one Mordovian borrowing is known in Lithuanian: Lit. sóra "millet" – Mord. suro, surǎ "idem" (ibidem, p. 248). Even traces of Balto-Mari contacts have been detected: Lit. šermuo, let. sarmulis "stoat, ermine", – cf. Mari šormo "lynx, marten" or quite isolated etymologically Lit. lopšys "cradle", – cf. Mari lepš, lep š "idem; also cradle-pole" (ibid.). The ancient Mari, well known to their W. neighbours and in medieval W. Europe as Meri or Merens later were partly assimilated and partly migrated across the Volga. V.Toporov and O.Trubachev point to the names of villages located to the west (sic) of Moscow – Staraya Meria, Meria Molodaya (16th c., district of Zvenigorod) – as indicating approximately the limits of Mari-Meri diffusion: cf. the etymology of the proper name Kuchka of the local prince who in the 12th c. was the owner of the village of Kuchkino, which later became the city of Moscow – Mari kučkež; "eagle", Meri *kučke, Mord. kučkan "id." (p. 249).

At the time of publication of V.Toporov's and O.Trubachev's book on the hydronyms of the Upper Dnipro area (1962) no one supposed that Baltic tribes were so widely scattered to the East. However, later this hypothesis was confirmed by archaeologists and toponymysts (cf. Sedov 1971, 1974, 1979). Both linguists discovered numerous Baltic river names between the Dnipro and the Oka, and found a dense group of Baltic hydronyms in close

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neighbourhood with Iranian river names on the right bank of the Seym. This provided good evidence for the localization of the region of intensive Baltic-Iranian lexical contacts, which is also evidenced by present-day vocabularies, e.g.:

– Lit. miežys, Let. miezis “barley; Lit. duona “bread”; Lit. javā “corn”; Lit. sviestas “butter”; Lit. balandis, Let. baladis “pigeon”; Old Prus. keutaris “pigeon”; Lit. “kakta” “forhead”, – to which correspond such Iranian words as: Ir. maiz “sow”; Ir. dana, Old Ind. dhana “corn”; Avest., O1d. Ind. yava “corn”; Avest. xšvid “milk”; Osset. bälon/bäläv “pigeon”; Farsi kabūtar “pigeon”; Soqd. čakt, Pahl. čakāt “forehead” (Toporov, Trubachev, p. 231).

Up until the last decades, direct Finnic borrowings into Old Slavonic (OS) were considered hardly possible. Thus, quite typical is M.Vasmer’s well known denial of Finnic etymology of Slavic nevod “seine, sweep-net”: “Not only the meaning, but also a diffusion of this word in Slavic languages testifies against its origin from Fin. neuvo(t) pl. “means, tools” ...” (Vasmer, 3, p. 56). However, another possible etymon was not yet taken into consideration: Fin. nuotta “seine, sweep-net”, which was borrowed from a Scandinavian source as was established some time ago (cf. SSA, 2, p. 241).

V.Toporov and O.Trubachev believe that “in fact the Finnic borrowings in OS or some of its dialects were quite possible” (p. 245). In their opinion, at the beginning of the 1st mil. AD the Slavonic language area was comparatively small and homogenous, so that the borrowed words – if they penetrated from the outlying zone – may have expanded into it quite freely. As to FU, at that time it was much more differentiated as a result of earlier evolution. “Just this circumstance became a real obstacle for the further penetration of loan words outside one language group or even one language. Here is the main difference in possibilities of the expansion of borrowing into Slavonic as compared to FU” (ibid.). Thus, among the scientific achievements of both scholars was the creation of a solid ground for the facts of Finnic loanwords into OS. The below quoted examples illustrate the Finnic lexical influence on Common Slavonic, “and not E. Slavic which became at a certain stage, as it is known, a unique partner in language relations with Finnish” (ibid., p. 247).

1. Polovina “half”. Common Fin. *puoli – is the only numeral which can be traced with certainty up to the Old Uralic period. This suggests its endemic nature, because similar forms exist in all the FU languages. As to the Slavic word, its IE relations are quite obscure. V.Toporov and O.Trubachev consider it a Finnic loanword “despite recent protests” (p. 246). Baltic words are quite different. The morphological structure of polovina is obvious: polov-ina, with an ancient suffix - ina, easily detected: cf. Ukr. dyt-yna, 1’ud-yna, ptaš-yna, ryb-yna “child, man, bird, fish”, where the sg form is derivative (!) from an older collective noun: dity, 1’udy, ptaxy, ryba. An analogous proceeding is known for the same words in Celtic: cf. Welsh plent-yn, ader-yn, pysgod-yn “child, bird, fish”. The morpheme pol– “half” seems old enough to be widely used in composita: Ukr. pivden’, pivnič, pivroku, pivsvitu, pivneba, pivhodyny etc. (“noon, midnight, half a year, half world, half sky, half an hour”).

2. Dub “oak”. Finn. tammi, Mord. tumo, tumă (again, Baltic has quite a different word *anžolas “oak”). It has been pointed out that Fin. tammi has lost its native consonant alternance mp/mm and this fact may indicate a non-Finnish loanword. However, the forms similar to modern Komi-zyr. tu-pu, Udm. ti-pi “oak” (SSA, 3, p. 265) could have been the source of OS *dobъ. The element -pu, -pi correspond to Fin. puu “tree” and this consideration seems to strengthen the hypothesis of Finnic loanword in Slavic.

3. Som “sheat-fish; Silur”. Old Slav. *somъ. The one possible fennicism with Baltic correspondences: Lit. sāmas. Let. sams “idem”, – but still without similar forms in other IE languages. A possible etymon might have been Fin. sampi “esturgeon, big fish, king of fishes”, Mari šamba “tench”, Mansi šupu “sheat-fish” (see SSA, 3, p. 153).

4. Ščur “rat”. Ukr. ščur from Pol. szczur “idem”, – cf. Mord. tševeŕ, tšejeŕ, šejëŕ , Fin. hiiri “mouse”, Udm. šir “id.” Both scholars consider that “a limited diffusion of the word *ščur in Slavic (only in the N (?) part of Slavic but Russian) points to recent borrowing as for ščuka (see below. – *K.T.*). However, this borrowing also proceeded the period of E. Slavic expansion. Other explanations of the word ščur cannot be considered as reliable” (p. 247). The data of OLA proves a diffusion of this word from Polish into Ukrainian and Ukrainian dialects of Belorussia (p. 51, map 13). The word is unknown in Slovac and almost absent in Czech.

5. Ščuka “pike”. OS1. šč(i)aukā (SSA. 1, p. 147), Ukr. ščuka, ščupak Pol. szczupak, LSorb. ščipel, – cf. Fin. hauki “pike”, Udm. (not included in SSA) tšipei (!) (Toporov, Trubachev, p. 246). Both authors stress that the FU etymology of Slav. ščuka makes it possible to offer a new explanation for variants with suffix -p- as a reflection of different forms of the ancient Finnic paradigm. Other analogous words should be mentioned: Est. haug, sg. havid, dial. havi; Vod. áutši , dial. hauki. Gen. case havve” (cf. SSA, 1, p. 147). Again, the OLA (p. 99, map 37) proves that Pol. szczupak was borrowed by Ukrainian and Belorussian.

In our view, this material rises the possibility of a Finnic etymology for Germ. Hecht “pike”. Kluge’s Dictionary illustrates a spontaneous evolution of its thematic vowel: Ang.-Sax. hacod, hoeced, heced; OHG hachit, OSax. hacht. After all, the most precious language facts, completely unexpected here, are the MLG hōk and especially Westph. hauk (!) (Kluge, p. 295). Is it really a peripheric archaism on the extreme West of the Germanic language

area? Anyway this new etymological link expands the zone of Proto-Finnic – West-European language contacts (cf. Tyschenko 2001).

As to the k/p alternance, it exists indeed only in a few other Finnish words as liukua “gliss”/ lipua “idem”, lepeä “alkali” (SSA, 2, p. 82, 84), – cf. also lika “dirt” “of unknown origin” (SSA, 2, p. 76). Another example is kepeä “easy” / köykäinen “easy, not heavy” (SSA, 1, p. 344). Taking into consideration this unusual alternance of k/p in Finnic languages, it is worth mentioning the historical differentiation of Celtic into Goidel, and Brittish groupes, which have, among other distinctive features of probable Finnic substratum, the opposition of the initial *qu- / *p- (cf. Tyschenko 2001). As it is known, “according to some researchers, the Celtic languages of the British Isles owe their system of initial consonant lenition as well as other features, to a pre-IE substratum” (Zvelebil 1995, p. 195).

A.Popov quotes also a dozen other Russian fish names borrowed from Finnic languages, viz.; sig, xarius, lox, kor’uška, salaka, kil’ka, tajmen’, r’apuška, kambala, soroga, kumža pal’ja etc. (Popov, p. 50).

The very idea of researching the lexical traces of pre-IE substratum in Europe (not inevitably Proto-Finnic) is stipulated by numerous words which have no etymological explanation within the IE language material. Their list includes among others:

– common Slavic les “wood” (Safarewicz, p. 549);

– Czech and Slovac kuna, kanec, krosna, (“marten, boar, basket/container”, – Zvelebil 1995, p. 195);

– Fr. roc, rat “cliff, rat”, Occitan clap, suc, garric “stone,, mountain summit, oak” (ibid.);

– Eng. pig, lark, larch, cliff, luck, stoat, rain (Oxford…);

– common Germanic words as Eng. sea, earth, blood, evil, little, sick, bring, leap, run (Lockwood, p. 80); boat, ebb, keel, mast, rudder, sail, ship, strand, east, north, south, west, bow, helmet, shield, sword, bear, calf, eel, lamb, stork, bone, bread, drink, leap, wife, knight, thing, (Walter, p. 286).

– “non-IE terms pertaining to the exploitation of undomesticated resources, such as “spawn of a fish”, dill, clover, dove etc; or geographical features important in hunting and fishing activities such as “narrow bay” or “water hole in a marsh” (after Polomé)” (Zvelebil 1995, p. 195).

Uralian etymologies are also possible for the following words:

– in Celtic languages: Gael. suil “eye” – cf. Fin. silmä “idem”; Gael. bec, Welsh bach “little” (It. piccolo?) – cf. Fin. pikku(inen) “id”; Gael. leath “half” with a semantic analogy in Hungarian (Greene, p. 38); Welsh daunaw “18” as “two nines” is similar to Nenets number 18 (details in: Tyschenko 2001);

– in Rumanian: pădure “wood”, similar in phonetics and semantics to Nenets pëdara (!) “idem” (our observation);

– in Germanic languages: Eng. whale (and Prus. kalis), – cf. Fin. kala (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, p. 934); Eng. boy via East Frisian and Scandinavian, – cf. Fin. poika, Hung. fiú “idem” (cf. Manzelli, p. 516); Eng. kilt from Scand. kilta, – cf. Fin. kitoa “envelop” (?) (cf. SSA, 1, p. 364); Eng. pot “of unknown origin” (Oxford…), “prélatin” (Dauzat, p. 577), – cf. Fin. pata “idem”, existing in all Uralian languages without exception (SSA, 2, p. 322), which is an advantage of the Finnic word on its English correlate; finally, the etymology proposed above for the Germ. Hecht “pike”, – cf. Fin. hauki “idem”.

This list of Finnic possible loanwords might be completed with lexical similarities of Ukrainian and Volga-Finnic, collected by M.Fedorova: Ukr. haj, bažaty, riasnyj, čekaty, čub, čupryna, hurtom (“wood, to be eager, obfitous, wait for, forelock, hairs, together”) (p. 19, 20, 29), – Mord.-Erzia haj “thikets, jungle”, bažame “to be eager” (with rich derivatives); hydronyms in Lipetsk region of Russia: rivers Riasa, Stanovaya Riasa, Guschina Riasa (explained as “big, rich in water”) Mord.-Erzia ška “time”, Komi čuk “top”, Mord. prä “head”, Udm. gurt “village”. Finnish-Suomi correspondence to the above mentionned river names is runsas “dense, rich” existing in almost all Baltic-Finnic languages. Some researchers give the following MHG etymology for this word: runs(a) “flood, torrent” (Kluge mentions it even as “common German”, p. 615) from rinnen “run”, but the very verb of rinne has been considered until now “of unknown origin” (!) (Oxford…, p. 410).

Another example of a “German-Slavic fennicism” is the word family sorrow, sorry, sore – all of them again “of unknown origin” (Oxford...). These words can be related phonetically and semantically with Fin. suru, surullinen “sad”, surra “fade, dye” (with parallels in Khanty/Ostiak), and surma “death” (with correspondences in Ugric languages). Another possibly related groupe is Ukr. žurba, žurlyvyj, žurytys’a “sadness, sad, to be sad”: as to ž / s correspondence, cf. recent Russian loanword in Finnish sääli ‹ žal’ “sorry” (SSA, 3, p. 244).

The Finnish etymology of the Slavic lopata “spade, shovel” is also quite plausible: cf. Fin. lapio from the Samod. labea “oar”, which originates from the common Uralian lopa “flat bottom of an allonged tool” (SSA, 2, p. 46), – cf. also Rus. lopast’ “id.”. Certain reserves and doubts were expressed (Vasmer, 2, p. 518 – 519; ESUM, 3, p. 287; SSA, 2, p. 47) as to the possible Slavic or Baltic origin in Finnish, – but in our opinion the opposite direction of the borrowing is better substantiated.

One more group of words, being now stylistically low, seems to be a very old FU borrowing in Slavic: Ukr. škandybaty – “limp”, kandyba “lame person”, known also in Belor., Rus., Pol. (ESUM, 2, p. 363: “not too clear”);

Rus. kovyl'at', , okolet' "limp, dye"; Ukr. kul'haty; šamotity, šomratys'a "limp; hurry". Their possible sources might be correspondingly Fin. kontti (common FU) "leg bone"; kävellä "to go for a walk" (SSA, 1, 482); kuolla "dye"; kulkea "walk" = Est. kulg(eta), Saami gol'gât. Mord. kol'gems "to mistake" (SSA, 1, 489); Fin. samota "to hurry up, walk, run" – with analogies in Karelian, Est., Liv., cf. also Mansi som, šōm, šūm "run" (SSA, 3, p. 153).

This list would have been incomplete without the important conclusion of A.Joki (1973). The linguist not only corroborated the importance of the IE loanwords stock in Finnish, but also argued the existence of reverse language influences (together with H.Petersson, A.Nehring, C.Uhlenbeck and other scholars). The evidence of the FU influences would have been such IE words as: bee, honey, fox, fish, mushroom, bramble, pot, sinew, copper/gold, to pull, to sale/change (p. 373 – 374).

II. Genetic and Cultural Context of Proto-Finnic Linguistic Contacts

In M.Zvelebil's opinion "the evidence as it stands... indicates that, more than any other demographic event, the late glacial population extension and colonisation of areas freed by deglaciation accounts for the modern genetic composition of European populations (...) The genetic evidence corroborates the archaeological sources showing that the late Palaeolithic hunter-gatherers of the Magdalenian tradition, originating in SW. France / N. Spain (where the concentration of the key genetic variants is the highest), moved north between l5000 and 10000 BC colonising areas hitherto covered by ice, water or polar desert" (Zvelebil 2001, p. 39). "In the mitochondrial DNA, which is passed on in the female line only, the key haplotype groups are H and V. Haplotype V group... shows the highest concentration in N. Iberia / SW. France and among the Saami populations in N. Finland (...) This haplogroup V reaches 0 in Estonia, Bulgaria and Caucasus" (ibid.) "As Toroni et al note, "haplogroup H is the most common haplogroup in all European populations (…) The expansion of the population with this haplotype has been dated to the Upper Palaeolithic and would have included communities in both the westerm (Franco-Iberian) and eastern (Ukraine) refuge areas" (ibid., p. 40).

Until now it was assumed that the primitive homeland of Finnic and wider, Proto-Uralic peoples was the Volga-Kama region. New archaeological research discredits this theory (cf. Zalizniak 2001). Also, "Russian archaeologists... see no evidence of Palaeolithic or Mesolithic westward migration from Siberia" (Carpelan, p. 10). On the other hand, "mitochondrial DNA tests have revealed the presence of a western component in the Finns genetic makeup" (Carpelan, p. 3).

The historic role of the Saami (Lapp) has become obvious. As it has been pointed by M.Zvelebil (2001) (cf. Savontaus 1995) modern genetic researchers "maintain that genetically the Saami possess 82% European and 18% Samoyed (Uralic speaking) admixture while the Finns harbour 90% European (Baltic and Germanic. – *K.T.*) and 10% Uralic genes (...) This overall pattern is sharply divided along gender lines. In the maternal line, only 6% of the Saami mitochondrial DNA reflects Asian origin, while among the Finns,the mitochondrial DNA so far sampled, is almost completely European in origin. Among the males, however, 25% of the Saami and 52% of the Finns (sic) possess Y-chromosomal DNA containing mutations that originated in central Asia" (Zvelebil 2001, p. 41).

The data of Torroni et al does not explain "why the number of males from this original founding population (of the Komsa culture, some 11000 – 9000 BC. – *K.T.*) declined (...) Equally, the history of the gene exchange between this population and males originating in the east is crucial, but unclear (...) The hunter-gatherer context of this situation and the relative absence of females might suggest… a strong possibility" of "long-term, small scale gene exchanges" (ibid., p. 41).

After twenty years of research efforts in bioanthropology, archaeology and linguistics, the main stages of Finnish prehistory are as follows. During the Wurm glaciation (20000 – 16000 BC) a huge volume of ice was concentrated in continental glaciers reducing the level of the ocean. As a result, the territory of the present day Northern Sea was a large plain inhabited by some tribes of the Lyngby culture. After 14000 BC the Scandinavian ice cap began to thaw. Approximately in 10000 BC the Atlantic coast of Scandinavia became free of ice (as did the shore of today's Greenland). According to Norwegian archaeologists, the first peoples who migrated here from the sinking North Sea Continent at the end of the Ice Age were fisher tribes of the Komsa culture (see fig. 1). The lands on the eastern side of the Scandinavian ice cap received the migrants from Ukraine, which is regarded by a number of linguists and archaeologists (Wiik 2000, Dolukhanov 1998), as the original homeland of ancestors of FU speakers (Zvelebil 2001, p. 36). Around 8 kya (=6000 BC) a new wave of migrants came from Yutland after another sea transgression. A part of the Lyngby population moved eastward reaching the Pripiat area (Swider culture). One of the cultural innovations of great significance was the adoption of ceramics by the hunter-gatherer communities in about 6,5 kya (Zvelebil 2001, p. 38) due to contact with the farming cultures in Western Ukraine (Dolukhanov 1979, Timofeev 1998). The adaptation of ceramics produced characteristic pointed-based pots with pit and comb decoration, considered by R.Indreko (1948) to be an indicator of the distribution of the FU speaking people (ibidem). There had been about 15 migration waves from the NW Europe to Polissia from the late Palaeolithic to the Middle Age (Zalizniak 2001): that is why all archaeological cultures from N Germany up to the Dnipro during

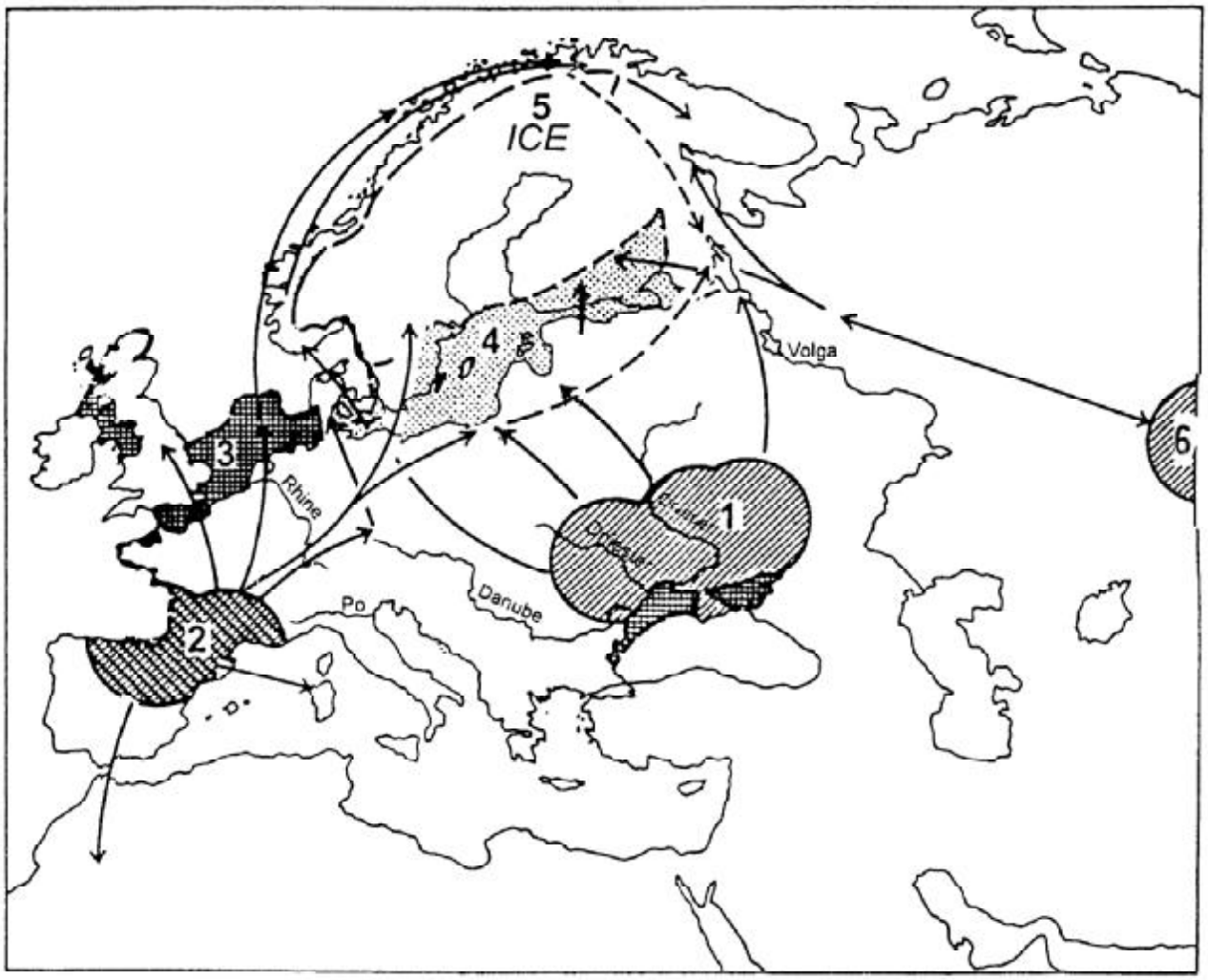
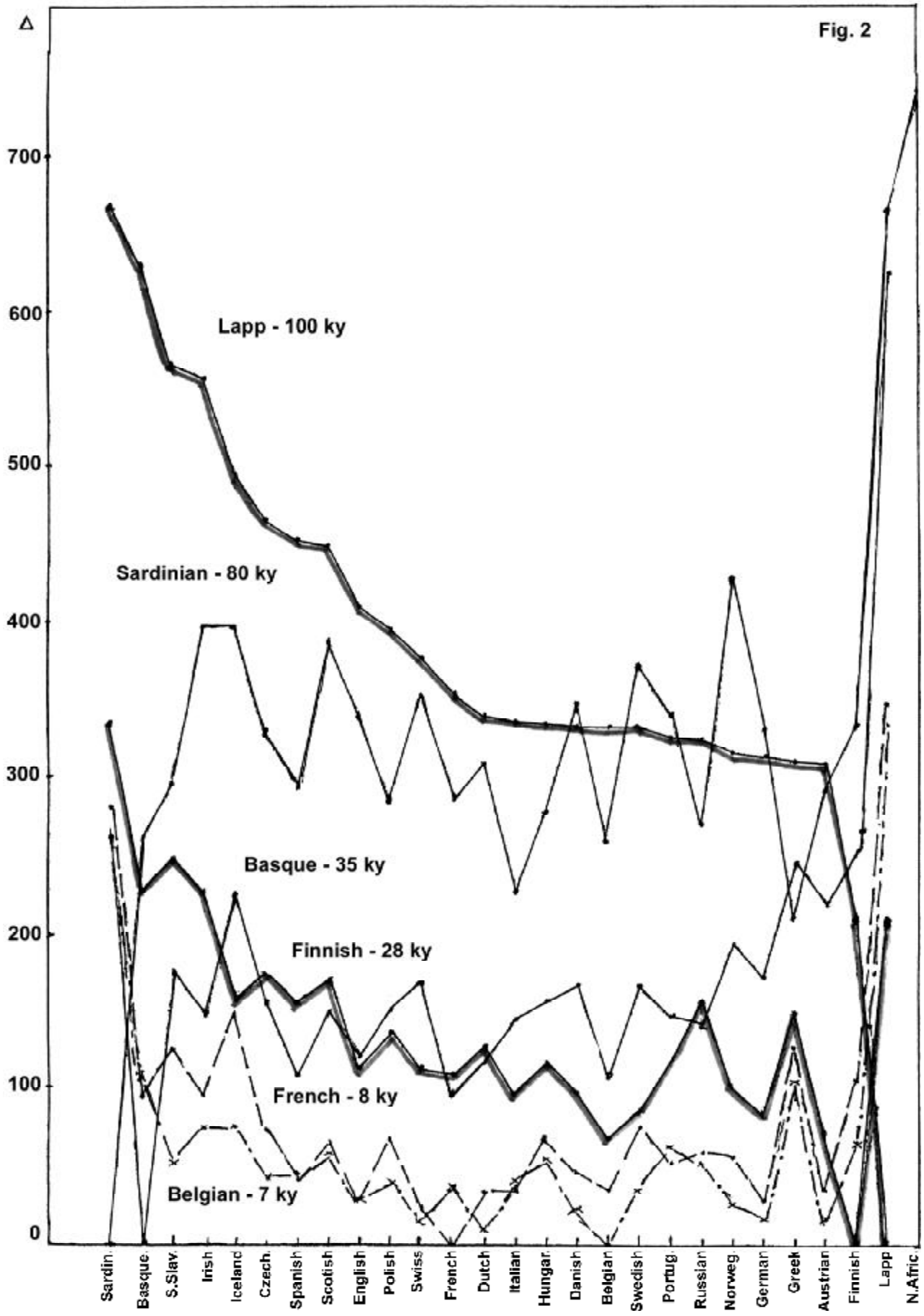


Fig. 1. Dual centre model for the recolonization of Northern Europe (after M.Zvelebil 2001, fig. 1, 2; precised). 1. North Pontic/ Ukraine population centre 14 – 8 kya, attributed to Proto-Finnic-Ugric speakers. 2. Franco-Iberian population centre, attributed to non-Indo-European ancestral population of which the Basques are a modern isolate. 3. Dry land, now flooded. 4. Ice-dammed Yoldia Sea. 5. Scandinavian ice cap. 6. The geographical source of genetic mutations found on the Y chromosome among males in Finland.


Δ
Fig. 2
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
Lapp - 100 ky
Sardinian - 80 ky
Basque - 35 ky
Finnish - 28 ky
French - 8 ky
Belgian - 7 ky
Sardin.
Basque
S.Slav.
Irish
Icelanc
Czech.
Spanish
Scotish
English
Polish
Swiss
French
Dutch
Italian
Hungar.
Danish
Belgian
Swedish
Portug.
Russian
Norweg.
German
Greek
Austrian
Finnish
Lapp
N.Afric.

this time have the same Lapp anthropological component (Ch.Moor, P.Ariste, quoted by Sidorov, p. 400).

When both stream of migrants met themselves, a new anthropological reality began for the Scandinavian region. Mesolithic cultures from Scandinavia to the Ural mountains became an area for the expansion of the Proto-Uralic language which "began to branch out into its various offshoots (...) Early Proto-Finnic, – the "grandmother language" of the Finnish and Saami languages, – traces back to the period in which the "Pit-Comb Ceramic culture" spread thorough the region in about 4000 BC. Proto-Saami and Proto-Finnic parted ways when the "Battle-Axe or Corded Ware culture" arrived in SW Finland around 3000 BC. This linguistic differentiation continued during the Bronze Age in about 1500 BC", when old Baltic and German loan words began to appear in Finnish (Carpelan, p. 12).

According to C.Carpelan, "the peoples inhabiting Norrland and the North Cap changed their original language – whatever it may have been – in favour of Proto-Saami in the Bronze Age" (Carpelan, p. 12). That is why "the present day Saamis stem from a different genetic stock as well as a largely different culture than the original "Proto-Saamis" who later become integrated with the rest of the Finnish population" (ibid.). After exposing the facts it would be proper to precisely identify the role of the Saami in Finnish ethnogenesis. Their Swedish name lapp is related to löpa "runner" and corresponds to Norw. finn. The finnish lapps are called in Swedish kvänn, Russian lapps are lopari. Their own common ethnonym is sabme (same, sabmélâš), which has the same etymology as suomi and Häme region (Rus. yem'), – all these names stemming from Balt. *zemē "ground" (SSA, 3, p. 138, 215 – 216).

The mongoloid component in the Saami is more prominent (18 – 47%, cf. Kiszely, p. 562). Apart from the fact that they are related to Siberian populations they are also an old local European people. According to E.Eickstedt (1934), Lappids are considered a northern adaptation of Alpides (cf. Kiszely, p. 560 – 562). In Ukrainian Polissia the Lapps of the Yanislawica culture appeared unexpectedly in an accomplished form (Kiszely, p. 562; Zalizniak 2001): their time-honoured presence in Ukraine might shed light on the higher percent of blood group A in the present day Ukrainian population in comparison with the population of Russia (see below). The general supposition of Kozlowskis as to the slow migration of the Saami northwards following the reindeer is confirmed with numerous traces of the Saami during the Middle Ages near Novgorod (a lot of facts about lop' in ancient chronicles, – Popov, p. 108 – 110), in S. Finland (cf. toponyms as Fin. Lappeenranta liter. "Lapps' shore"), as well as the historically documented shifting of the Saami progressively northwards in 12th – 18th c. (cf. map in Manzelli, p. 495). The linguistic proof of this millenary migration are also convincing. Besides one third of Lappish vocabulary which is endemic and has no clear etymological links, the oldest loanwords in Lappish are Baltic (Prussian, Lithuanian and Lettonian) and generally dated back to the end of the 1st mil. BC up to 500 AD: Lap. sar'v'es', sul'n', suīn, sal't, łuss "reindeer, hoarfrost, hay, floor, salmon" correspond to Old Prus. sir'v'is', Lit. šalna, šienas, tiltas "bridge", Let. lasis. Though the same loanwords are also available in Finnish-Suomi (hirvas, halla, heinä, silta "bridge", lohi), the latter are more evaluated if compared with archaic Lapp forms (see Kert). The problem is not exhausted as established by the existence of Finnish river names in Lithuania (see Vanagas).

Summarizing the actual data of modern cytogenetics L.Cavalli-Sforza (1994) points that "Lapps show some relationship (to other European populations – *K.T.*) in more than one PC (principal genetic component – *K.T.*) synthetic map; this may indicate that part of the Caucasoid background of Lapps is of Palaeolithic origin" (p. 295). Recently, a linguist, V.Tauli explained the IE features of the Lappish as the result of extremely old contacts with IE languages or a possible western IE substratum in Saami (Tauli, p. 436).

According to genetic distances of DNA calculated by L.Cavalli-Sforza (p. 227), the Saami are the oldest European population. The so called "Saami motive" (a combination of three genetic mutations) found in more than one-third of Saami samples, proves their very long evolution in complete genetic isolation (Savontaus, p. 3). 65% of Saami have blood group A. The nearest numbers are known for the Finnish – 44,1%, Moldavian 40,8%, Ukrainian 40,5%. The Russian and Mordva-Moksha have both 37%, while Mari only 24% (according to V.Bunak, quoted by Kiszely, p. 461, 518). Besides, the Saami have the lowest percentage of negative Rhesus-factor in Europe: 5% (the highest one is known for the Basque: 55%; – ibidem, p. 564, 214).

The greatest genetic distance of DNA (Cavalli-Sforza, p. 270) exists between the Saami and the Sardinians: 667 points; Saami-Basque 629; Basque-Sardinian only 261. The last number is comparable with such distances as "Saami-Finnish" 210 or "Scottish-Greek" 253. The Hungarian population has a striking proximity to all other European populations, partly explained historically. The same is true for following pairs: Basque-French, Basque-Spanish, Greek-Italian or Icelandic-Norwegian. The complete genetic table is calculated by L.Cavalli-Sforza on the base of 88 genes (which cover 3/4 of all genetic information) for 26 European populations. The scientist underscores that "the central part of Europe is fairly homogenous genetically", which "may be due to the Neolithic diffusion", while "the extreme outliers are Lapps followed by Sardinians" (p. 268). Their genetic distances correspond to their time of separate evolution of ca 100 000 and 80 000 years (ibid.). To make the cytogenetic information more visual we provide the table (Fig. 2), where the data of L.Cavalli-Sforza is organised according

to the decreasing order of distances of the major outlier Lapp to the rest of the European populations. It is obvious that the third place belongs to the Greeks (40 ky), the fourth – to the South Slavs (38 ky). Then come the Basque (35 ky), the Icelandic (30 ky?), the Finnish (28 ky), the Goidel Celtic (20 ky), the N. Slavic and the Hungarian (15 ky), the Western Romance (12 ky), Czech and Slovac (10 ky), the Scandinavian Germanic (9 ky), the French (8 ky) and finally the Western German (7 ky) populations.

This chronology reveals the genetic formation of the main European hunter tribes as far back as the Palaeolithic. It is much deeper than traditionnaly admitted in historical linguistic reconstructions. Does this mean that the oldest language data can be reconstructed only for the periods when the genetic formation of European populations is in fact over?

On the other hand, some archaeologists find it necessary to prolong the FU time scale, which signifies that "the Uralic language unity might have existed for some ten thousand years ago, in the depth of the Palaeolithic, – where linguists do not seek it" (Sidorov, p. 401). However, such linguistic evidence is available (sf. Andreev, Starostin, Julku, Klimov).

A more convincing summary (see Fig. 1) was obviously offered by M.Zvelebil (2001): "Having renewd the evidence, he writes, we can draw the following conclusions. (1) Archaeologically, material culture remains… clearly indicate how N. parts of Europe were colonised by populations moving from TWO major population centres, one in S. Europe, the other in the Ukraine (…) (2) Modern genetic evidence provides conditional support for Indreko's hypothesis. If the patterns observed at present are real…, than the late glacial population dispersal from SW. Europe is reflected in the genetic composition of modern populations in W. and N. Europe (...) (3) Neither archaeological nor genetic evidence alone sheds any light on the linguistic identity or ethnicity of the colonizing populations (...) Populations moving from the eastern centre in the Ukraine are sometimes associated with the Uralic or Proto-Finnic speakers (…) In this context, Indreko's argument is an intriguing one. If, as he suggested, the original populations in the Upper Palaeolithic of W. Europe were Proto-Finno-Ugrian, than this implies that the entire Mesolithic population in temperate and N. Europe was Finno-Ugric speaking too at this time. Large section of this population… would have to adopt IE speech subsequently from IE farming groups penetrating Central Europe from the Near East…" (Zvelebil 2001, p. 43).

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ПРОТОФІНСЬКО-ІНДОЄВРОПЕЙСЬКІ МОВНІ Й ГЕНЕТИЧНІ КОНТАКТИ

1. Доісторичні мовні контакти у Східній Європі були спрямовані переважно від індоєвропейських до фіноугорських мов. Однак низка публікацій останніх десятиліть приділяє чимраз більше уваги дослідженню давніх фінських запозичень в індоєвропейських мовах (В.Топоров, О.Трубачов, А.Йокі, Т.Гамкрелідзе, В.Іванов). 2. Генетичний контекст протофінських мовних контактів вивчений найновішими методами дослідження ДНК (праці Х.Карпелана, М.-Л.Савонтаус, Л.Каваллі-Сфорца та ін.) Мовна і культурна атрибуція місцевого палеолітичного населення Східної Європи (Р.Індреко) співвіднесена з сучасною концепцією неолітичної креолізації Європи, опрацьованою археологами (П.Долуханов, М.Звелебіл, Л.Залізняк).

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POPULAR RELIGION IN THE EASTERN BALTICS DURING THE 17th CENTURY

This paper deals with 17th century popular culture, especially folk religion, and the attitudes of the authorities – the Swedish Crown and the Swedish Lutheran Church – towards it in the eastern provinces of the Swedish empire. I will also shortly discuss how we, in my opinion, should seek to deal with such often evasive topics in present-day historiography. Thus, this paper is an attempt to describe my own research project, which is aimed at a doctoral thesis. I have taken more liberties than may be usual with scientific papers in the hope that a more relaxed approach will allow for a more provocative, and, thus, a more satisfying way of dealing with the issue.

The part of the Swedish empire during the period under discussion, namely, a wide semi-circle stretching from Finnish Lapland to Livonia, consisted of areas of differing social conditions. At the time Sweden had, as a result of her conquests, become a multinational, multilinguistic and socially heterogeneous conglomeration of provinces, quite like any other great power of the period. During the 16th century evangelic Lutheranism had been introduced into Sweden and made state religion, and her kings had begun a policy of expansion beyond her traditional boundaries. By the end of the 16th century the bid for empire was well under way. Estonia had been conquered, and the opportunistic and ruthless process continued with the aim of turning the Baltic Sea into a Swedish lake. Expansion in the east reached its furthest limit with the conquest of Livonia from Poland in 1629. By that time the Crowns' subjects had come to include such diverse groups as the Saami in Swedish and Finnish Lapland, an increasingly nomadic people with their own language and their own non-Christian religious practices. Further south, in the eastern parts of modern Finland – Savolaks and Karelia – the Finnish peasants were officially evangelic Lutheran Christians, but their religious makeup nevertheless included a wide assortment of non-Christian, Catholic and Russian Orthodox notions and images[1]. Before the middle of the 17th century, the Russian frontier was also home to a considerable minority of Russian-speaking, Russian Orthodox peasants. Similarly, Russian Orthodoxy had a strong foothold among the Finnish-speaking Ingrian peasants, whose territory had quite recently been conquered from the Tsar[2]. Still further south, the Estonian and Latvian-speaking peasants of Estonia and Livonia lived under an oppressive manorial discipline in conditions of practical serfdom. Their Christianity had been brought to them by their German-speaking masters, and it, too, included a lot of unorthodox and non-Christian ingredients.

This motley assortment of peoples with differing languages and creeds were all subjects to the Swedish Crown. The creation and upkeep of the empire, however, demanded a constant flow of capital and manpower, which the sparsely populated and peripheral Sweden was ill-equipped to provide. In this competition Sweden could not hope to prevail against her more populous and wealthy neighbours without a thorough and efficient mobilisation of those limited resources that were at her disposal. One way of achieving greater efficiency had been the drive for uniformity in governmental matters, legal practices and – religion, begun already with the ascension of Gustavus Vasa to the Swedish throne in the 16th century. It meant the creation of institutions which would ensure the smooth functioning of the system of government and fill the coffers of the Crown with tax-money and its armies with recruits. It meant building a state bureaucracy, run by trustworthy and obedient officials, the creation of a functioning judicial system with proper courts of appeal and a struggle for the imposition of the rule of law on the still largely independent nobility. At the level of individual parishes the local priest and other authorities were increasingly trusted to act as representatives of public power. For the ordinary peasants this process meant intensifying official control in every level of their lives, from taxation to the judicial system. Finally, throughout the realm it also meant official inroads into their traditional forms of religion, which became a subject for a rather loosely defined and spasmodic campaign of discipline from about the middle of the 17th century onwards. As the Crown began to introduce new methods of government into the more remote parts of the realm, it encountered a bewildering array of local religious beliefs and customs. The reaction was to seek uniformity also in religious life, but the challenge, and therefore the reaction, too, was different in different parts of the country.

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Popular religion, popular magic

Still, the documents tell a surprisingly similar story from all the eastern parts of the realm[3]. Popular religious notions were much the same everywhere, despite linguistic and cultural differences. The most archaic features in the religious life of the peasants were pre-Christian. In the Finnish provinces, for example, these included rites of fertility and an array of old gods, spirits and mythical beings, some benevolent, some hostile, who had to be placated or weaned with offers. A notable example that surfaces in contemporary judicial protocols was the so-called "*Ukon vakka*"-rite. *Ukko* was an ancient Finnish god of thunder and rain, and to ensure sufficient rainfall a rite with a special song, beer drinking and ceremonies could be celebrated. These old traditions had often became confused with images introduced by the medieval Catholic religion and rite, so that in folk poetry the Catholic saints mingled freely with more ancient divine beings. Most notable examples of the Catholic influence were the different ecclesiastical feasts and saints' days, which the people continued to observe long after Catholicism was officially gone. In the eastern parts of Finnish Karelia and Ingria Russian Orthodox rite also had a strong influence on the religious imagery and rituals of the people. And, from Savolaks to Livonia, the peasants had their sacred stones, wells, groves and trees that were connected to the fate of the people who came to make offerings to them. This was the religious reality, of which the learned clergymen of the time usually knew very little.

Before the 1660"s the official policy towards these forms of religious unorthodoxy was still seeking its form. The medieval laws still in force during the 17th century recognised only witchcraft as a religious, or at least a semi-religious offence. Other forms of popular religion were criminalized with the decree against swearing and breaches of the Sabbath in 1665. This decree was ostensibly a powerful tool against religious infractions: it condemned broad categories of popular beliefs and religious traditions from holy wells to every possible form of popular magic from healing to fortune-telling. All this was grouped under the common name of superstition[4]. So, during the latter half of the 17th century the legal weapons for combating religious heterodoxy in its every form were finally at hand. With the new legislation the secular courts were, along the surviving remnants of the ecclesiastical judicial system, made as fora for pursuing religious uniformity throughout the land[5].

Attempts to root out heretical and non-Christian religious practices were themselves nothing new. Such attempts had been made ever since organised Christianity had arrived to Sweden during the early Middle Ages. From 10th century onwards the whole of Scandinavia became subject to a conscious process of Christianisation, which then gained completely new impetus when the local rulers began to ally themselves with the superior organisation of the Catholic Church. Nor was animosity towards competing, popular religious interpretations unknown for the Russian Orthodox Church[6].

The contemporary authorities – that is, the officials of the Crown, nobles in charge of much of the government functions, learned priests – explained their religious attitudes by saying, quite frankly, that religious uniformity was important. It was perceived to be important to the welfare of the empire, because it somehow could be converted directly to greater efficiency, tighter organisation and more obedient subjects. Moreover, many of them shared the belief that only a virtuous people can prosper, that God will not allow the wicked to go without being punished. God would avenge the sins of the rulers by visiting plague and famine upon their peoples, but He would also punish the princes for the immoral and ungodly ways of their subjects. So it was only natural for the authorities to react strongly to religious unorthodoxy.

Still, the court records of the latter part of the 17th century did not fill with accusations, denunciations and attempts by the clergy and the secular officials to uproot the forms of popular religion. There are enough cases to talk about a real campaign to do just that, but it was a vague affair, dependent upon the personal activity of the partakers and without a clearly defined strategy or goals. There are probably many reasons for that, some of them obvious, some less so. In the parishes any campaigning against folk religious practices was usually left to the care of the local clergy. Especially in the eastern parts of Sweden during early 17th century these were often people with less than adequate learning and zeal. Not all the priests were themselves very well informed of the right religion, still fewer actually wanted to cause trouble by actively trying to bring their parishioners into court in these matters. It is also likely that these cases continued to be handled and resolved in the ecclesiastical courts, of whose actions very little material survives. It seems that in Estonia and Livonia religious offenders were mainly pursued through the system of visitations, inspections of parishes by deans or bishops. From Finland there are examples of lower court processes against, for instance, people who kept sacred trees for worship and offerings. From Estonia and Livonia such cases seem to be lacking, the surviving records of the court of appeals in Dorpat do not include cases of breaches against the decree of 1665 in such matters.

The campaign against folk religion began, as stated, with the drive for centralisation, for a more efficient officialdom, for a more penetrating parish organisation. Only then could the pre-modern state, a somewhat odd union of the crown and the church, begin to try to realise the long-cherished vision of uniformity. Uniformity of legislation, customs, creeds, language – a national culture with no room for ideological or any other form of deviance. However, during the 17th century much of this was still just daydreaming. Despite the harsh language

the actual actions against popular religion were convulsive and irregular to say the least. According to the evidence it was left largely to local priests to take action. If they, for one reason or other, did not do that, no-one would.

The fight against tradition

So, in what kind of context should we view and explain the undeniable, but often lukewarm actions to suppress popular religion? A great point is sometimes made from the religiosity of the age, and we are told how religion penetrated each and every level of society and everyday life. Now, this is certainly true in the sense that almost all public speech of the era was couched in religious terms, and religious images and notions greatly influenced the thinking of both the learned and lay people alike. However, it would seem that this religiosity was not quite similar to what it means to be religious in the modern understanding. Precisely because religion provided a framework for the whole experience of existence, it was too loose a framework to really constrict everyday action. It is also to be noted that the popular understanding of religion was much more nebulous than it is today: for the peasants, a strictly defined religion did not exist. Had they been forced to define religion in their own words, it would have come to include all kinds of magical practices we have been taught not to count as religion at all.

I think there is an important distinction to be made here. As stated before, the appeal to uniformity, discipline and divine judgement was quite unarguably the way the contemporary authorities explained their policies, when they chose to explain them at all. However, it is rhetoric and as such typical to the age when even the most pompous utterances were typically followed with very little action. The pre-modern state was still impotent, the Crown was very often quite unable to realise its policies, and quite unable to command enough respect and obedience from its subjects. Nobody could be more openly religious in their statements than the temporal princes when speaking the language of power. Many of them most probably were genuine believers as well, but when the time came to implement their solemn promises, threats and pledges they had made in the name of God and the one and only Truth, the political realities usually made themselves felt. So, when they said that they really believed that the fortunes of their realm were dependent of the virtuousness of them and their subjects alike, and quite possibly also believed what they said, everything they still did was to issue a decree about virtuous life with no swearing or ungodly offerings at sacred stones. And that was it. As practically always when 17th century matters are taken under closer inspection, a gap between the embellished language and the real practices becomes visible. This leads one to think that maybe the most concrete reasons are not to be found in what the contemporaries said. It is better to go down to the evidence, and look at what they actually did.

In looking for the answer I do think that it would help to re-evaluate the role of the Church somewhat. In practically any given age it is probably easier to see the Church as a somehow unique organisation with a quite unique agenda of its own. Here, however, I am suggesting that we would not treat the Church that way. Instead, we should see religion more as a trade and the Church as a guild-system of specialists on this particular field. As such, the interests of the clergy are quite the same as any other guild-tradesmen, that is, to secure the benefits, influence and position of the guild-members and to exclude competitors. The attempts to eradicate popular beliefs seem to have been everywhere in Sweden connected to the establishment of church parishes and intensification of parish life. So, it would follow that the appearance of the indicators of a campaign against superstition – folk religion in general – would be less dependent on the strongly worded initiatives of the authorities and more dependent on the creation of more tightly organised parishes, where better educated priests start to act to make the peasants better Christians and, therefore, better subjects as well. Attempts to remove competitors would follow automatically from this scheme, because that is what guilds do everywhere. It remains to be seen whether further research will be able to confirm the veracity of this theory, as this is a process that is very difficult to track[7].

Folk religion as a form of peasant resistance

There is a further important aspect of folk religious practises that must be remarked upon. Popular culture of the day formed also an outlet for the feelings that could not be uttered in public. Throughout the 17th century people were condemned for the crime of *laesae majestatis*, a comfortably loose-fitting category, within which many different kinds of disobedient and insubordinate public speech or actions could be brought to trial. We do not have to doubt that behind the official reality, as expressed in official documents, there existed a wealth of rumours, jokes, stories, rhymes and songs through which the peasants expressed and gave vent to their feelings. Folk religious practices also had a part to play here.

The peasants were not doctrinaires. They evidently had very little understanding for the demands of orthodoxy. Even as they knew that the priests and officials wanted, that they, too, would stick to the official line and drop any other kinds of religious notions, they largely kept their own mind. This did not mean an anti-Christian attitude, because for the peasants such categorisations carried very little meaning anyway. When they were asked, they termed themselves Christians, both because they knew that it was the expected answer, but also because it was quite likely what they felt, too. That their version Christianity included many

ingredients that their priests would not have counted as Christian at all, was of no importance to them[8].

But the world of folk beliefs and religion was not only for passive observance. It included also secret knowledge, through which one could actively and decisively affect the world outside. This knowledge was usually termed magic by the learned. It included a wide variety of tricks and practises, handed down from generation to the next and further embellished by individual practitioners. It was common knowledge that some people were more adept in using magic, and some of them even made their living as more or less professional magic-users: fortune-tellers, healers and conjurors. Towards the end of the 17th century this profession became increasingly hazardous. The magicians usually relied on their reputation and they circulated wildly inflated stories about their own powers. When these stories caught the ear of some enemy or a representative of the public power, accusations of witchcraft or at least superstition were usually the result.

Those who were familiar with magic could even try and get their way with the officials by it. There are examples from Finnish lower courts that people tried to influence the court proceedings through magical tricks, such as slipping a talisman under the seat of the judge. Here we find again the way the spheres of religion, magic and official life intermingled or, rather, were not separate at all in the peasant mind. There was no distinction between environments suited for magic and those not suited: magic was there to be used to influence all kinds of occurrences over which one normally had little or no power, from weather and sickness to officials of the Crown with their inflexible and uncaring demands.

So, throughout the realm, the peasants happily mixed every possible kind of religious notions into an ever-fluctuating concoction of Lutheran, Russian Orthodox, Catholic and pre-Christian ingredients. On Sundays most of them went to the local church, where they would hear the priest sermonising. Even though they knew it was forbidden, they might try to make some offering or magical trick there as well, because the church, as a sanctuary, was a potent place to make offers and magic. After the sermon they would go home, where they had their own, secret and special places for offers and rites. And they would continue to observe Catholic feasts and saints' days long after Catholicism had been declared the work of the Devil. Through this, independent religious life, they were probably able to more fully satisfy their religious needs. They could possibly never quite get over the feeling that the non-observance of also those older and officially vigorously condemned practices might be punished by the invisible powers which surrounded them and commanded the most important factors in their life: the weather, the beasts of the forest and the harvest.

The centuries of folk religion

The history of under-the-surface phenomena, such as popular culture in general, provides a challenge for the modern historian and historiographer. Ethnographers have long been interested in popular culture for its own sake, especially its "higher" forms, such as folk poetry. In describing their subject, they have usually given very little concern to the process of historical change. This can not, however, be a historians approach. For the historian, popular culture, popular religion and popular magic can only be tools which can be used to say something significant about the society in general. Within the context of the society and its development during the 17th century, a study of folk religion and the official reaction towards it can, I hope, be used to illustrate the ideological policy of the Crown from the side it has not often been looked from. There was a reality behind those official statements, decrees and sermons, a reality that was often quite apart from the ideas of the policy-makers, a reality that has to be uncovered if we are to fully and correctly understand the developments in pre-industrial societies and their impact to our own time.

It has to be stressed once again that popular culture in general was and still is an extremely volatile construction. Due both to its nature as oral tradition, as well as pressure from the authorities, it was subject to continuous change. A salient feature of such tradition is therefore its historicity, and in this sense it is very well suited to historical inspection. That this history may be difficult, sometimes even impossible to track is another story altogether, but make no mistake about the nature of the thing we are looking at. The study of popular culture has to be given a historical scope, and popular culture itself has to be given back its historical dimension[9].

The end of the 17th century was a period of emerging scepticism in Europe. In Sweden, the end of the century saw the abatement of the witch-trials, and the doctrine of a Satan actively working in the world began to be replaced by a view of the world involving less participation of the supernatural agents. Even while the doctrine of active evil had been invoked to condemn also popular religious practices, they more and more became to be seen as superstition and mostly harmless folly, rather than as declarations for the forces of darkness. Popular religion, now increasingly simply labelled as naive superstition, became to be scorned for other reasons than a perceived connection to the Deceiver. But, as we can see, folk religion has not gone away. It is with us today, in forms we might not necessarily at first recognise, but it is there nevertheless. We encounter it in the popular beliefs of our own time we quite comfortably and without further ado classify as superstition. We encounter it in the pages of newspapers, in those classified advertisements where healers, occultists, mystics and astrologers offer their good

services. We encounter it in that endless multiformity of modern religious life, as the crumbling centralized and monopolistic Churches give way to the mushrooming splinter groups, factions and cults. The reaction of the learned today has much in common with the attitudes of earlier times. Superstition is scorned, despised and ridiculed. More cannot be done, as the lack of legal sanctions and control has liberated also religious popular culture to freely flourish again. That modern scepticism should carry so much resemblance to the much less well-informed and more intolerant attitudes of an earlier age serves as an ironic end-comment to this paper.

[1] Note that when discussing the eastern Church, the term "Russian Orthodox" is used. The official doctrine of the Swedish Lutheran Church during the period has also been described as a Lutheran Orthodoxy.
[2] Sweden had acquired from Russia the provinces of Ingria, roughly the area around the bottom of the Gulf of Finland, and Kexholm, roughly the western and northern shores of lake Ladoga, in the peace of Stolbova in 1617.
[3] The most important source material for this study are judicial protocols. The records of ecclesiastical administration of Finland and the Baltic provinces are kept in Stockholm. In Helsinki the Finnish National Archive has a wealth of lower court protocols from the Finnish provinces. The Latvian State Historical Archive in Riga is home to the protocols of the court of appeal in Dorpat (Tartu) and the Historical Archive of Estonia in Tartu also has some material preserved from the local lower courts.
[4] Vidskepelse in Swedish, Aberglaube in German.
[5] For a general outline of the attitudes toward magic, see Oja, Linda: Varken Gud eller natur. Synen på magi i 1600 - och 1700 - talets Sverige. – Stockholm, 1999.
[6] During the 16th century there were attempts to root out local beliefs also on the Russian side of the border in Karelia.
[7] One of the most thought provoking recent works about the theory of religion in general is Boyer, Pascal: Religion explained. The evolutionary origins of religious thought. – New York, 2001.
[8] Juhan Kahk makes the point, however, that sticking to folk religious practices carried also consciously anti-Christian overtones. See Kahk, Juhan: The Crusade against Idolatry, in Ankarloo, Bengt and Henningsen, Gustav (eds.): Early Modern European Witchcraft. – Oxford, 1990.
[9] A central work in this sense is still Peter Burkes' Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe. – Cambridge, 1994.

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НАРОДНІ ВІРУВАННЯ В СХІДНІЙ БАЛТИЦІ В XVII СТОЛІТТІ

В статті йдеться про народну культуру XVII століття, особливо про народні вірування в східних провінціях Швеції. В ті часи Швеція підкорила велику територію, що простягалась від східної Фінляндії до східного узбережжя Балтійського моря і стала могутньою державою. Створення і утримання імперії вимагало постійного притоку капіталів і людських ресурсів, забезпечення яких Швеція шукала за допомогою підвищення ефективності державного апарату.

Один із шляхів підвищення цієї ефективності влада, зокрема, вбачала в досягненні релігійної та ідеологічної однаковості в державі. Для селян це означало, що влада все більше цікавилася формами і практикою їхніх традиційних вірувань. Практично всі форми народних вірувань були остаточно визнані незаконними за указом про богохульство від 1665 року.

Після цього розгорнулася досить невизначена і непослідовна кампанія, спрямована проти більшості форм народних вірувань, які зазвичай називали забобонами. В той же час народна магія також стала ціллю контрзаходів з боку влади. Проти неї застосовувались штрафи і матеріальні покарання, інколи – смертні вироки. Проте для селян не існувало різниці між магією і релігією.

Автор доводить, що для того, щоб зрозуміти причини кампанії, спрямованої проти народних вірувань, потрібно зосередитися більше на фактичних діях влади, менше – на її публічних заявах. Здається, ця кампанія, принаймні у фінських провінціях, співпадала із загальною тенденцією на посилення парафіяльних організацій і парафіяльного життя. Так чи інакше, щоб зрозуміти цей час і суспільство, потрібно також звертати увагу на часто нечутну ідеологічну боротьбу, яка точилася в різних провінціях Швеції.

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CULTURE WARFARE: THE ERADICATION OF ISLAMIC SACRED PLACES IN THE 1990S BALKANS

Human beings are not the only casualties of war, at least in the Balkan conflicts of the 1990s, many holy places, too, were destroyed or desecrated. This essay deals with the Islamic side only, although several churches, Christian monasteries and cemeteries were also damaged or demolished.

Discussion about the Bosnian War has paid attention, and perhaps rightly so, above all to massacres and the deprivation of human rights. However, in the long run attacks on cultural monuments and, ultimately, on the very presence and memory of another people and culture, is perhaps a more serious war crime than the more visible, and more bloody, aggression against human beings, which is of but short duration. The eradication of cultural monuments amounts to a claim that 'the other' never lived here or, indeed, never even existed. Therefore, architecture, and material culture in general, can never be an innocent bystander in war. The Taleban dynamited the Bamiyan Buddhas, the Allies carpet-bombed Dresden, the South African apartheid government levelled District Six in Cape Town, and so on. Everywhere the war was waged for ethnic 'purity' and against multiculturalism, a trademark notably of urban Bosnia-Herzegovina but also Kosovo.

Events in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In both the Bosnian and Kosovo conflicts, monuments representing a "foreign" culture were a more or less consciously selected target, a part of the strategy and warfare on eachside[1] . When the Serbs bombarded Dubrovnik several western commentators lamented the demolishing of (Catholic) cultural monuments[2]. One reason for this may have been that these monuments were on the UNESCO World Heritage List. But when Islamic monuments, for example, the National and University Library, located in the former city hall built in postclassical Moorish style during the Austrian period (1878 – 1918), and the Library of the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo, were destroyed in May 1992, hardly a voice was heard[3].

Almost the only exception was the famous Old Bridge of Mostar (*stara ćuprija* or *stari most*), constructed in 1566 A.D. by Heyreddin, a pupil of the celebrated Ottoman architect, Sinan and blown up by Croat forces in November 1993. However, the serious damage caused by shelling to the historical gold smiths' quarter (in Bosnian, *kujundžiluk čaršija*), reconstructed in the 1980s,and now rebuilt, has hardly mentioned[4]. During the war, as little was reported of the destruction, in spring 1992, of the Ala a Mosque in the picturesque capital of medieval Herzegovina, Foča, on the Drina. The limestone mosque was built in 1550 by Ramadan Aga, another pupil of Sinan. At the same time three other mosques at Foča were also blown up[5]. Six years after the war, the (Serb) mayor of Foča could claim that 'there never were any mosques' in the town[6]; and even the name had been changed to Srbinje, meaning a 'Serb place'[7].

In May of the same year of war, 1993, in Banja Luka, north-eastern Bosnia, two renowned mosques from the late sixteenth century, the Ferhad Pasha Mosque (usually referred to as Ferhadija) and the Şoqullu Mehmed Pasha Mosque, were dynamited[8], 'by chance' on the important Orthodox feast of St George. The mosques were located on opposite sides of the River Vrbas, which flows through the town. Ferhad Pasha Mosque was a UNESCO World Heritage site. The Bosnian Islamic Community and local Muslims made several attempts to rebuild the mosque but the local Serb authorities resisted all efforts. Not until 18 June 2001 was the foundation stone laid on the site of the previous mosque[9]. Ferhad Pasha (ruled 1558 – 1579), a member of the originally Orthodox Christian Bosnian clan of Sokolović (Şoqullu), which produced a number of the highest functionaries of the Ottoman Empire, was the founder of urban Banja Luka.

In the village of Ustikolina, a dozen kilometers north of Foča, the oldest mosque in Bosnia, the Emin Turhan Bey Mosque, dating from the 1440s, was destroyed in 1993[10]. In Mostar, the first Serb offensive destroyed the Tabačica Mosque. Lying close to the Old Bridge, the beauty of this place of prayer has been lavishly praised by Smail Balić, a leading expert in Bosnia-Herzegovinan culture. Subsequent fighting seriously damaged most of the other mosques in Mostar, too[11]. Overall in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muslim burial monuments and 'tombs with characteristic headstones, or *mezar*, have sustained heavy destruction'. This is nothing new, for already 'in the former Yugoslavia numerous Muslim cemeteries were confiscated, bulldozed, and used for new construction or turned into parks'[12].

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A similar view was reported by Michael Sells from Bijeljina, eastern Bosnia, in early 1994, where Željko Ražnjatović, better known as "Arkan", had shown his guest Vladimir Zhirinovskiy the parking lot that not long before had been the site of a mosque[13]. Similarly, Ed Vulliamy says that '[t]he site of one of the loveliest old mosques in Foča is now a car park'[14]. Talking about Bratunac, a town a dozen kilometers north of Srebrenica, Charles Lane says in May 1993: "Most of the shops in the former Muslim quarter had been looted and their windows smashed. The mosque had been razed; goats grazed in the weed-choked Muslim cemetery. Locals [that is, Serbs] told me that the mosque had been hit by a Muslim bomb"[15]. This kind of accusation was rather typical of the time.

In Bosnian Serb areas, even Orthodox clergy seem, at least occasionally, to have been involved in assaults on Muslims and their cultural heritage. According to Duško Doder, in 1993, an Orthodox priest led the people in expelling a Muslim family and seizing their home in southern Herzegovinan Trebinje, not far from the Montenegrin border. Other Muslims in the town were either killed or expelled, and the 500-year-old mosque was burned down immediately after the celebrations held to mark the feast (14 January) of St Sava, founder of the Serbian Church[16]. Afterwards, the Orthodox bishop of Herzegovina, Atanasije (Jevtić), is said to have 'attacked those who criticized expulsions of Muslim civilians and the burning of mosques in …Trebinje'[17]. I have to add that, particularly in Herzegovina, Croats, too, attacked Muslims and blew up their holy places[18].

The years of the Bosnian war, 1992 – 1995, were catastrophic for Islamic monuments and sacred places in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has been estimated that, between 1992 and 1993, Bosnian Serb forces destroyed some 600 mosques in that area. The next two years witnessed the loss of some 500 more[19]. Among the destroyed cultural monuments were also libraries, museums, archives, cemeteries and ancient Ottoman buildings[20]. And yet, autumn 1995, Henry Kissinger, the former U.S. Secretary of State, could proclaim on a TV show that 'there is no Bosnian culture' and, therefore, Bošnjaks should be put in an enclave of their own[21].

Events in Kosovo

After the NATO bombing of Kosovo had ceased and the international security forces (Kfor) had arrived in the region in June 1999, the media, both conventional newspapers and the Internet, gave rather extensive coverage to the destruction and profanation of Serbian Orthodox churches, monasteries and other holy places[22]. Far less attention was paid to destroyed or damaged Kosovar mosques.

The position of Islam and Muslims in Kosovo, and indeed all Yugoslavia, under socialism varied markedly according to current political conjunctures. At first, religious activities were heavily curtailed. Islamic ***shari'a*** courts were abolished in 1946[23]. A move towards greater tolerance occurred in the early 1970s, particularly after the 1973 oil crisis. Islamic worship was no more frowned upon and permission to restore old mosques and build new ones was granted much more easily than before. Meetings with Yugoslav Muslim leaders became an established item on the itinerary of visiting diplomats from Islamic countries[24].

In Kosovo, as in the rest of Yugoslavia, the most visible sign of Islamic toleration was the increase in the number of active mosques. Bigger mosques (in Albanian, sing. x*hami*, from the Turkish *çami*) and smaller places of prayer (in Albanian, *mesxhid*, from the Turkish *mescid*) were erected throughout the 1970s. (For practical reasons I would call them both 'mosques', although the latter lacked minarets.) In the early 1980s, the official number of mosques in the whole of Yugoslavia was some 2,000 and that of smaller places of prayer around 700. In Kosovo, the numbers were about 450 and 120, respectively. About half of the Kosovar mosques were built under the Ottomans, that is, from the late 15th century to 1912. Moreover, in the whole country the Muslims run some 430 Qur'anic schools, 35 of them in Kosovo. In addition, on the area of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina there were two *medreses* (Arab. *madrasa*)or schools for higher education, plus one each in Kosovo and Macedonia. The *medresa* in Prishtina, capital of Kosovo, was founded in 1951. The other Islamic holy places included an unknown number of spiritual meeting-houses or *tekkes* (in Albanian, *teqe*), which were if great importance for social and religious life of Kosovar Albanians[25].

After the death of Tito in 1980 no more mosques were officially built or opened in Kosovo. According to source, the number of mosques before 1998, when aggression escalated into war, is calculated between 560 and 610. The only change worth noting is the entry in the 1993 statistics according to which the number of bigger mosques had increased, being some 530 (of which 500 pr so were in active use) and that of smaller places of prayer decreased, being around 80 (of which 70 were in active use). Of the 300 old mosques only 15, or five per cent, were in use (but of old churches more than 200 or, depending on the calculations, about 20 to 30 per cent)[26].

After the annulling of Kosovo's autonomous status in 1989, the region was annexed to Serbia in the new Serbian Constitution in early 1990. Serbs started to build new churches. Albanians resisting Serbian rule damaged or destroyed some of them, which gave Serbia a new pretext to strengthen its power and consolidate its position in Kosovo. Tension between Serbs and Albanians grew and, after the appearance in public of the Kosovo Liberation Army (Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosovës or UCK, founded in 1996) in late 1997, the Serbs started to vandalize mosques[27].

During the guerrilla warfare of 1998 and early 1999, before the NATO bombing started on 24 March 1999, from 200 to 220 mosques were destroyed. This destruction, which was not an 'unfortunate' incident but an essential component of warfare, was, of course, as much a violation of the international rules of war[28] as was that in Bosnia-Herzegovina. As well as mosques, other religious and cultural monuments of Kosovar Islam were also demolished. According to the London-based Bosnia Institute, these included Qur'anic schools, most of the around 500 *kullas* (from the Turkish *kula*, 'tower'), fortress-like indigenous dwellings built of stone by (often prestigious) extended Albanian families and the old Ottoman centres of Peja (in Serbian, Peć), Gjakova (Djakovica) and Vushtrri (Vucitrn). During the bombing, in spring 1999, and soon after them, the Serbian government accused NATO of destroying many important religious monuments, chiefly Orthodox churches and monasteries, but also the Sinan Pasha Mosque in Prizren and the Hadum Mosque in Gjakova[29].

During the war, with a few exceptions, Albanians did not destroy Serbian sacred places. After the withdrawal of the Yugoslavian army, however, attacks on Orthodox churches and monasteries became more frequent for a while (see above). Since the arrival of the Kfor forces, some one hundred churches and monasteries have been demolished. In this case, too, we may speak about the violation of the international rules of war. For the sake of comparison, I may add that, according to an estimate of the United Nations' High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), in early 1999, when more than half a million Albanians fled Kosovo, some 70,000 houses, most of them Albanian property, were destroyed.

Although mosques and related places were the main target of Serb destruction in the war against the Kosovar Albanians, occasionally also other important and highly visible symbols of Islam were also attacked. These included Sheikh Myhedin, one of the most important Islamic figures in Kosovo. He and 150 other people were killed in their *tekke* at Rahovec (in Serbian, Orahovac) on 19 July 1998 during a fight between UCK and Serb forces (whether the latter were regular or irregular is unknown to me)[30].

To conclude this section I will briefly characterize Islam in Kosovo. The Muslims of the region, particularly Albanians, are commonly held to be rather secularized. The minor Islamic groups in Kosovo, like Turks and Muslim Slavs or Bosnjaks, tend perhaps to be more religious, although, since the arrival of Kfor, relations between Albanians and Muslims Slavs have been far from cordial[31].

Secularisation and certain peculiarities of Kosovar (and Albania) Islam, such as the Bektashi Order, may explain why Islamic fundamentalism or extremism of the type practised by the Taleban is practically non-existent in Kosovo. There are, however, a few discrete exceptions. For example, a statement by UCK, dated 29 December 1999, claimed that '[i]t is time for Albanian mosques to be separated from Arab connections and for Islam to be developed on the basis of Albanian culture and custom'[32].

For some Islamic countries, Saudi Arabia in particular, 'secular' Kosovo has served as a kind of mission field. The Saudi Joint Relief Committee for Kosovo, officially a humanitarian organisation distributing food and medicine and Islamic literature in Albanian translations, has also restored mosques. An example is the 400 year old Hamam Mosque in Peja/Peć, rebuilt in 2000. The 'ascetic' Saudi way of avoiding decoration and colour has attracted much criticism from professional western architects and restorers and, to a lesser extent, from Kosovar Albanians. Humanitarian work combined with proselytizing activities has also been carried out by the United Arab Emirates. A UAE businessman, Hamad al-Hajri, is even reported to have brought 60 Kosovar pilgrims to Mecca for the annual *hajj* or pilgrimage by Muslims in late 2000[33].

Moreover, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Jordan have trained Kosovar imams[34]. The Egyptian Red Cross has built a mosque, a school and a kindergarten in Prishtina[35], and the sultanate of Brunei has offered $150,000 for either building a new mosque in Decan, western Kosovo, or reconstructing the old mosque built in the style of a *kulla* and damaged during the fighting in 1998 – 1999[36]. The international community, however, does not seem to pay much attention to the restoring of mosques in Kosovo or to care about the Albanian Islamic heritage or future of Islam in the region, although plans have been made by the Council of Europe for the preservation of Kosovo's cultural heritage[37].

Why is culture under fire?

Why, then, this seemingly random destruction of cultural monuments? Or, why proselyting activities?

The common denominator in the destruction by Serbs and the missionary work by Saudis is the notion of the 'wrong' ideology of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. For it was not only Kosovar Muslims who were inclined to a flexible interpretation of Islam that rather easily permitted the integration of Islamic and non-Islamic elements; the same may be said of their 'brethren' in the north, Bošnjaks, too. According to Balić, himself having roots in Bosnia, '[t]he Islam practised by the Ottomans, who ruled Bosnia from 1463 to 1878, [and by Bošnjaks], had a strong mystical strain, was endowed with numerous syncretic elements, and, for its times, was quite tolerant'[38]. Even if we assume that he is somewhat biased in his opinion, and if we take into account that, in the early 1990s, the average Bošnjak was rather secularized[39], two things are clear: first, Bosnian Muslims considered

their tradition very tolerant of 'infidels' and, second, extreme nationalism as well as any purist interpretation of religion is intolerant of different views, particularly multiculturalism. So, if extremists are pursuing power, as they were notably in the case of the Serbs and Herzegovinian Croats in the 1992 – 1995 war, encountering the difference leads almost inevitably to its destruction. Symbols of 'foreign' people had to be erased, both from the landscape and from 'our' memory, to make room for 'our' symbols and the rewriting of history from 'our' point of view. This destruction, and the hatred linked with it, is, however, not biologically determined or historically preconditioned but socially constructed from various facts.

In the case of Kosovar Albanians, these facts were linguistic and, to a large extent, also ethnic[40]. Unlike in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then, the construction of 'other' and the fomenting of hatred by nationalist Serbs and the declaration of Kosovars and their culture as an 'alien' element in a place that those Serbs considered the cradle of their national state needed no further justification.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, the case is more complicated. For two centuries or since the rise of South Slav and Serbian nationalism, Slav Muslims – who speak the same language as Serbs (and Croats), are ethnically of the same stock, and, especially in the case of Bosnian Serbs (and Croats), are culturally close to 'us' – have been accused of being Serbs who have betrayed the Orthodox faith of their ancestors (and, in the case of Croats, traitors of their 'originally' Catholic faith). Thus, because they were otherwise too close to 'us', the only fact differentiating them from 'us' – their religious 'foreignness' and the 'menace' this posed to 'us' – had to be exaggerated. Hence Serbian propaganda's talk about 'Islamic fundamentalism'[41], its emphasis on Serbs as persecuted defenders (and saviours) of Europe from Islam and its tendency to project on Muslims all kinds of evil deeds the Serbs were about to commit, such as looting, raping and the slaughter of innocent civilians[42]. Moreover, in killing Slav Muslims and destroying their sacred buildings and places, the Serbs were fighting their Titoist past. For, since the early 1970s, due to Tito's efforts to win Arab countries over to his policy of non-alignment, Slav Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina had enjoyed favoured status as a not-always-so-willing link between Titoist socialism and Arab nationalism or Arabic Islam. In this context, Tito even allowed the Saudis to finance the building of the Islamic *madrasa* in Sarajevo, which was opened in 1977[43]. In the Bosnian War the tables were turned and Slav Muslims were put down in a manner reminiscent of the Nazi 'final solution'.

Finally, although here I have to be careful, laying waste to material monuments of the enemy seems to have been a part of the common law in the western Balkans[44]. Of course, the common law had officially not been used for decades, but it was, nevertheless, familiar to a lot of people. When such memories were combined with years of nationalistic machination by power-thirsty politicians and their money-coveting tools, a sizeable number of Serbs, but not all[45]. were started to consider recourse to violence as a 'normal' way of behavior. The 'banal' fact is that, in the hectic atmosphere of exalted 'Serbdom' and its socially constructed 'enemies', they hardly had a choice. History, if one may seriously speak of such after decades of the Titoist creation of myths in support of partisans and communists, collapsed into a distorted 'memory' of our virtues and the other's (past and present) vices. The destruction of the other in a very tangible way became necessary to maintain the illusion that the enemy exists and that the Serbs (or Croats) are under threat[46]. The sad thing is that thousands of human beings therefore killed their neighbors and destroyed their cultural achievements – for the mere illusion that I, for want of a better expression, call 'nationalism'.

The happy thing is that the nationalists failed. There may be people who will still say that Bošnjaks or Kosovar Albans have 'no culture', but the fact that not all was destroyed and that part of the material culture wiped out in the 1990s is now being restored indicates that the war on culture did not achieve its goals, the annihilation of all traces of material culture of the other, as the memory of 'them' is a part of 'our' life and landscape.

I thank Gillian Häkli BA for editing my English.

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[1] See Norman Cigar. Genocide in Bosnia: the policy of "ethnic cleansing". – Texas: A & M University Press, 1995. – P. 60 (for Bosnia).

[2] See, for example, articles in Helsingin Sanomat, 4 October, 1991 ("Vanha kulttuuriperintö sodan runneltavana") and 21 October ("Saarrettu Dubrovnik potee ruokapulaa"), 25 October, 1991 ("Dubrovnik pelastettava", a letter to the editor, signed L.K:) and 31 October, 1991 ("Pelastakaa Dubrovnik, Adrianmeren helmi", a letter to the editor, signed Marianne Keto) and Karjalainen, 24 October, 1991 ("Dubrovnikin historiallista keskustaa pommitettiin").

[3] Smail Balić, "Culture under fire", in: Why Bosnia? Writings on the Balkan war, ed. Rabia Ali & Lawrence Lifschultz, Stony Creek: – The Pamphleteer's Press, 1993 – P. 78. The libraries, particularly the Oriental Library, founded in 1950, housed an irreplaceable collection of valuable manuscripts from Bosnia and other archival treasures.

[4] See Milan Porodanović's article "Vandalizm u službi nacionalizma", in Republika (Belgrade), 1 – 15 June, 1994.

[5] Porodanović 1994; cf. Ed Vulliamy, Seasons in hell: understanding Bosnia's war. – London, 1994. – P. 354.

[6] Robert Bevan, ”Bricks and mortars: wars that target your neighbour’s place of worship”, *Independent* (UK), 3 September, 2001.
[7] Michael A. Sells. The bridge betrayed: religion and genocide in Bosnia. – Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. – P. 80.
[8] Already in late February 1992 a part of the mosque complex, the turbe or mausoleum of Farhad Pasha, was blown up; “The Ferhadija Mosque 1992 – 2001”, Bosnia Report ns. nos. 23 – 25, June – October 2001, www. bosnia.org.uk
[9] Branko Bjelajac. “Bosnia: Ferhadija mosque reconstruction started”, Keston News Service 19 June 2001, keston.org; Nermina Durmić-Kahrović,“Confrontation over Ferhadija Mosque”, Balkan Crisis Report no. 167, 25 August 2000, in iwpr.net; Porodanović 1994. Altogether 16 mosques were destroyed in Banja Luka. The 30,000 strong Muslim population of this town of 175,000 inhabitants was reduced to the 3,000 persons of today.
[10] Vulliamy, 1994. – P. 354.
[11] Balić, 1993, 76. However, in his book about Bosnian culture – Das unbekannte Bosnies, Europas Brücke zur islamischen Welt, Köln: Böhlau 1992 – he does not include Tabačica among the most beautiful mosques in Bosnia (p. 294).
[12] Balić, 1993. – P. 77.
[13] Sells, 1996. – P. 82.
[14] Vulliamy, 1994. – P. 354.
[15] Charles Lane, “Dateline Zagreb: the fall of Srebrenica”, in: The black book of Bosnia: the consequences of appeasement by the writers and editors of The New Republic, ed. Nader Mousavizadeh. – New York: BasicBooks, 1996. – P. 117.
[16] Boston Globe, 10 February 1993, quoted in Sells, 1996. – P. 80.
[17] Sells, 1996, 83. Bishop Atanasije’s view was heavily criticised by the patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Pavle. Trebinje’s mayor, Bozidar Vucurević, was a staunch supporter of Radovan Karadžić.
[18] Sells, 1996. – P. 97 – 98, 103 – 104. Neither are Muslims totally innocent; for example, some extremists defiled a Catholic monastery at Gura Goca near Travnik (Vulliamy 1994. – P. 353).
[19] According to Ramet, in early 1980s there were some 1,660 mosques in the whole area (S.P.Ramet, ”Islam in Yugoslavia today”, Religion in Communist Lands vol. 18, № 3 (1990, 130). In 1930 the number of mosques in Bosnia-Herzegovina was around 1,000 and in 160, officially 969 (Smail Balić, “Der bosnisch-herzegowinische Islam”, Der Islam vol. 44 (1968), 130). However, according to Balić, the 1,100 mosques destroyed in 1995 would make up some 45 per cent of the total number of Islamic places of prayer in Bosnia-Herzegovina (see Balić, 1993. – P. 75).
[20] Bevan, 2001; Durmić-Kahrović 2000. According to Andrew Herscher, 1,115 mosques, 309 Catholic and 36 Orthodox churches and 1,079 other buildings of cultural importance were destroyed during the 1992 – 5 war (“Remembering and rebuilding in Bosnia”, www. ijt.cz/transitions [March 1998]).
[21] Sells, 1996. – P. 149.
[22] See, for example, Richard Lloyd Parry. “Churches ’symbols of occupation’”, Independent (UK), 2 August 1999; the list of demolished churches published by the Serbian Orthodox Church (www.spc. yu); “WCC and CEC denounce church destruction in Kosovo” (10 December 1999, www. wcc-coe.org); Branko Bjelajac. “More destruction in Kosovo”, Keston News Service, 3 February, 2000, www. keston.org.
[23] Balić, 1968. – P. 130.
[24] Ramet,1990.
[25] Ramet, 1990. – P 130; Religion in Kosovo, International Crisis Group Balkans Report N. 105, Pristina/Brussels 2001, 3.
[26] Andrew Herscher & Andras Riedlmayer, “The destruction and reconstruction of architectural heritage in Kosovo”, Bosnia News, September, 2000, www. bosnia.org.uk.
[27] Of Kosovo Liberation Army, see Stephan Lipsius, “Untergrundorganisationen im Kosovo, ein Überblick.” Südosteuropa vol. 47 (1 – 2), 1998.
[28] The first international treaty for the protection of cultural monuments was signed at the Hague in 1899 and the next one in 1954. Additional cultural protocols were drawn up in Geneva in 1977. Bevan 2001.
[29] Peter Ford, “Kosovo: second casualty of war: historic architectural sites”, Christian Science Monitor 25 July 2001; Herscher & Riedlmayer 2000; Andrew Herscher & Andras Riedlmayer. “Monument and crime: the destruction of historic architecture in Kosovo”, Bosnia Report, n.s. 23 – 25, June – October 2001, www. bosnia.org.uk; Jolyon Naegele, “Kosovo: ancient kullas in jeopardy of being lost”, www. rferl.org, 29 March 2000. In late 2001, modest progress had been made in reconstructing kullas, see Jolyon Naegele, “Kosovo: masons stonewall historic kullas”, www. rferl.org, 14 December 2001.
[30] Religion in Kosovo, 4.
[31] Paul Watson. “Slavic Muslims are Kosovo’s unseen refugees”, Los Angeles Times 4 December 1999.
[32] Quoted in: Religion in Kosovo, 5.
[33] IINA, 28 November, 2000.
[34] Jolyon Naegele, “Yugoslavia: Saudi Wahhabi aid workers bulldoze Balkan monuments”, ww.rferl.org, 5 August, 2000.
[35] IINA, 21 June, 2000.
[36] Jolyon Naegele, “Kosovo: masons stonewall historic kullas”. At the time the article was written, in December 2001, the cultural office of the UN Mission in Kosovo and local hodja, Murat Thaçi, disagreed as to whether the money should

be used to restore the old mosque (as UNMIK insisted) or to build a new one (as local Albanians preferred, according to hodja).

[37] See Jolyon Nagele. "Yugoslavia: plans made to preserve Kosovo's cultural heritage", www. rferl.org, 1 February 2000.

[38] Balić, 1993. – P. 80.

[39] See Darko Pavičić, "Nismo ni Turci ni Arapi – mi smo Evropljani", in Novi Danas 24.8.1992. The article is an interview of the former imam of the mosque in Zagreb, Mustafa Cerić. Novi Danas is a Zagrebian periodical closed in September 1992.

[40] The answer to the question 'who is an Albanian' and 'who is a Serb' is complicated by the fact that although Serbs and Albanians are clearly two different ethnic groups, in Kosovo, and perhaps elsewhere, too, over the centuries some Serbs have adopted the Albanian language and Islamic faith, and some Albanians the Serbian language and Orthodox faith.

[41] The same was propagated in certain western circles as well, see Yossef Bodansky & Vaughn S. Forrest, "Iran's European springboard?" (www. balkanpeace.org), written for the U.S. House Republican Research Committee on "Task force on terrorism & unconventional warfare" and published in 1 September 1992. Cf. Marie-Paule Canapa. "L'Islam et la question des nationalités en Yougoslavie", in: Radicalismes islamiques, vol. 2: Maroc, Pakistan, Inde, Yougoslavie, Mali, publié sous la direction de Olivier Carré et Paul Dumont, Paris: Editions L'Harmattan 1986. – Pp. 126 – 141 and Alexandre Popovic, "Le 'radicalisme' islamique' en Yougoslavie, ibid. – Pp. 151 – 161. However, it is also a fact that hundreds of mujahedens from Aghanistan, Iran and other Islamic countries fought on the side of the Bosnian army in the 1992 – 5 war and that, in spring 2000, a handful of Kosovar extremists (or criminals) claimed they were representatives of Osama bin Laden who wanted to establish an Islamic Kosovo. Anne Hebst, "'Kosova – Islamic country': wer steht hinter den Attentatsserien im Kosovo?", in Glaube in der 2. Welt vol. 28, № 10 (2000).

[42] See Balić 1993, 80 – 2; Norman Cigar, "Serbia's orientalists and Islam: making genocide intellectually respectable", in: The Islamic Quarterly vol. 38, no. 3 (1994); Ramet 1990.

[43] Kjell Magnusson, "Religion och nation i Jugoslavien", in Bidrag till oststatsforskningen vol. 10, №. 1 (1982), 33.

[44] Herbst, 2000, 15. She refers to the Albanian kanun only.

[45] An example is the former mayor of Belgrade, Bogdan Bodanović, who, according to Sells (1996, 78), spoke 'courageously against the systematic annihilation of mosques and other cultural monuments' in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[46] Cf. Cornélia Sorabji, "Une guerre très moderne: mémoire et identités en Bosnie-Herzégovine", in Terrain vol. 23 (Octobre 1994). – Pp. 147 – 9.

Теуво ЛАЙТІЛА
Турку

ВІЙНА КУЛЬТУР: ЗНИЩЕННЯ МУСУЛЬМАНСЬКИХ СВЯТИХ МІСЦЬ В 1990-х РОКАХ НА БАЛКАНАХ

Жертвами війн стають не лише люди. Під час конфліктів на Балканах в 1990-х роках були знищені або опоганені численні святині. В статті йдеться лише про втрати мусульман, хоча також були зруйновані або пошкоджені християнські храми, монастирі та кладовища.

Роки Боснійської війни 1992 – 1995 років були катастрофічними для мусульманських пам'яток і святих місць в Боснії-Герцеговині. Встановлено, що впродовж 1992 – 1993 рр. збройні сили боснійських сербів знищили в цьому регіоні близько 600 мечетей. Протягом наступних двох років було втрачено ще 500. Серед знищених пам'яток культури були також бібліотеки, музеї, архіви, кладовища, споруди оттоманських часів.

Після скасування автономного статусу Косово в 1989 році, регіон був анексований Сербією згідно новій сербській Конституції, ухваленій на початку 1990 року. Серби розпочали будувати нові церкви. Албанці чинили опір сербській владі і зруйнували декілька з них, що дало Сербії новий привід посилити свою владу і зміцнити позиції у Косово. Напруження у відносинах між сербами і албанцями зростало і наприкінці 1997 року, після того, як почала діяти створена в 1996 році Армія Звільнення Косово, серби почали руйнувати мечеті. Впродовж партизанської війни 1998 – початку 1999 років, перед тим, як 24 березня 1999 року НАТО розпочало бомбардування, було зруйновано від 200 до 220 мечетей.

У війні 1990-х років в Боснії-Герцеговині і Косово, історія перетворилась на спотворену "пам'ять" наших чеснот та чужих (минулих і сучасних) провин. Знищення "чужого" необхідне для підтримки ілюзії щодо існування ворога і загрози сербам чи хорватам. Трагедія полягає в тому, що тисячі людей вбивали свої сусідів і знищували їхні культурні надбання лише через цю ілюзію, яку за браком кращого терміну називають "націоналізмом".

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FOLK TRADE IN PODILLIA BASED ON THE RESEARCH WORK OF THE LAND'S STUDY CENTRES OF THE 1920s

In recent years scholars have become increasingly interested in the history and historiography of Ukrainian ethnology and in the study of Ukraine's regions. In the 1920s the study of ethnology in Ukraine was at its highest level[1]. This had a positive impact on the study of the ethnography of Podillia. The study of this region proliferated in the context of the nation-wide rise in the study of local lore.

An important contribution to furthering knowledge about the material culture and occupations of the Podolians was made in the 1920s by the local scientific elite, who rallied a great number of researchers and amateur local lore students. Further consolidation of these forces was facilitated by an order of the All-Ukraine Committee for the Protection of Monuments of the Past, of Art and of Nature (AUCPMPA) which on July 25, 1920, passed and distributed among all the regions "Regulations for local CPMPA" and "Instructions" for the establishment of such committees with the rights of autonomous sections at the regional and district departments of national education. This work assumed a more organized and systematic character due to the order of Podillia Revolutionary Committee, which initiated the regional Vinnytsia Committee for the Protection of the Monuments of the Past, of Art and of Nature (RCPMPA) which included museum, library, ethnography, architecture and natural monuments divisions[2]. Soon, with the further development of the study of local lore similar committees were founded in the Kamianets'-Podil'skyi, Maisynskyi, and Tulchynskyi districts of the region[3]. They accomplished a considerable amount of work as for example registering important historic and cultural monuments, preserving archival materials, private collections, libraries and other valuables, organizing explorations, undertaking research work and collecting[4]. Among the monuments which were under the auspices of RCPMPA were works of folk art and crafts, including ceramics[5].

The methods for the research of traditions and domestic culture were defined in the "Instruction" issued by the ethnographic section and had the following goals: "a). to form a strong foundation for further extended research of Podillian ethnography and history; b) to accomplish this research in a systematical and organized way using scholarly methods and approaches". To fulfill these tasks the following procedures were outlined: 1) to begin work immediately by compiling a complete catalogue of all the articles published on the ethnography of Podillia and to start work immediately; 2) to work out a plan of systematic and organized work for collecting both hand-written and printed ethnographic material, and, eventually, to collect materials pertaining to the current social and domestic life of the people; 3) to make an inventory and classification of all the materials and, as far as possible, to supply a scholarly analysis of the various materials; 4) to encourage all qualified individuals interested in the field and to involve individuals who are not professionally involved in ethnography but have constant and close links with the folk (e.g., teachers, priests, education instructors, regional societies etc.)". The "Instruction" also outlined the main forms of activity for the ethnographic section: scientific conferences, public talks, debates, prize grants for the best scholarly research on ethnography, organization of exploratory field work and expeditions for the further study of domestic life, publication of periodical literature, books, questionnaires, programs, reports on the local research activities and the foundation and development of new sections, branches and separate clubs. The ethnographic section of RCPMPA in Vinnytsia was planning to establish firm links with all the scholarly institutions that worked in areas connected to the ethnography of Podillia, however its primary objective was "the constant and close contact with the Vinnytsia branch of National Library of Ukraine"[6] The ethnographic section in Vinnytsia pledged to organized rationally and carry out systematically its ethnographic work[7].

In the 1920s state and public museums became important centers for the study of local lore studies in Podillia. These were established on the initiative of volunteers and existed mainly on their enthusiasm rather then the scarce state funding. The history and activities of museums in Podillia undergoes a thorough consideration in contemporary literature on local lore[8]. However, in the context of the elucidated problem, it should be pointed out that the enthusiasts who undertook the exploration and preservation of the cultural and historic heritage of Podillia

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U.Alexandrovych, M.Briling, V.Gragenmeister, O.Neselovskyi, U.Sitsinskyi and other scholars and amateurs) gathered unique collections of folk art. These collections included archaeological finds and their contemporary ceramics, and represented the work executed in the main centers, the creative activity of talented dynasties and craftsmen, and the ethnographic and artistic peculiarities of local folk trades wares. The value of these collections continually increases as the majority of the renowned centers in Podillia decay and disappear. The loss of local traditions and artistic and stylistic peculiarities is the outcome of the crushing offensive of the totalitarian regime on the folk home-industry and on the originality in folk art which ran counter to official ideological doctrine.

A remarkable contribution to the study of the local tradition and domestic culture was made by the scholarly societies and establishments of Podillia[9]. In the year 1922 research departments on the history and economics of Podillia "were established at the Public Education (IPE) and the Agriculture Institutes in Kamianets'-Podil'skyi. Among their members were such scholarly representatives as professors V.Herynovych, P.Klymenko, P.Klepatskyi, and V.Hranevich, as well as the following researchers: O.Neselovskyi, U.Sitsinskyi and others[10]. Among the most important work of the departments was the exploration of economic conditions in Podillia in the past and at present, and the study of the productivity of the region and the ways of its economic improvement. The result of their collective activity was the publication of a number of broad collective explorations, among the most interesting of them is the work of V.Herynovych entitled "The Land of Kamianets'", its second part "The People and their Economic Activities" is especially noteworking[11].

Topics on the economic and material culture of Podillia were the research subjects of the scholarly society of Kamianets'-Podil'skii, which belonged to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Science and was initiated by the Chair of the Department of History and of Economics of Podillia the Institute for Public Education Professor Klymenko. Although the scholars worked in Kyiv within the system of the Academy of Sciences since 1923, the idea of the creation of such an institution which would unite the interests of the research workers of Podillia in the country, was supported by the rector of the IPE V.Herynovich; the founder of the School of History and Local Lore in Podillia, U.Sitsinskyi; a renowned scholar, prof. P.Buchynskyi and many other enthusiasts. Professor Klymenko never abandoned this work; he took active part in the formulation of the statute and the programme of the future society and later became its curator. On June 21, 1925 a Constituent Assembly was held and U.Sitsinskyi and P.Buchynskyi were elected honorary members of the society. The membership of the society numbered 97 persons. At first, the society was headed by prof. Polonski and from October 1926 by D.Bohatski, U.Sitsinskyi worked as deputy chief and U.Fil' was the academic secretary of the society. The society consisted of five sections: Local Lore, History and Philology, Pedagogics, Nature Studies and Mathematics, Sociology and Economics. Apart from individual research work its members worked on four complex themes: 1) the countryside of Podillia, its history, nature, technology and economics; 2) the old Kamianets'; 3) bibliography of the study of Podillia; 4) archaeological excavations[12].

The work conditions of the society were extremely hard. The lack of any kind of state allowance (it functioned exclusively on membership dues), of its own work quarters (the Museum of Archaeology) made the fulfilment of the outlined research plans much harder. But, despite all this, the society worked prolifically and the number of its members grew. They succeeded in rallying the scholar, the specialist and the amateur interested in the land, do support the relationship with the National Academy of Sciences. In 1929, its membership numbered 120 persons, 110 of which were active members. At this periods 43 research works were reported at the meetings of the society[13]. The subjects embraced the history, economics and ethnography of the land (the reports of V.Gagenmeister, K.Koperzynskyi, K.Krzeminskyi, U.Sitsinskyi etc.)[14]. A certain part of the works of the society members was published in the periodicals or as separate books. Nevertheless, for lack of funds most of them are still in manuscript form and waiting to be studied. In 1928 the society managed to publish only one volume of its "Notes" the contents of which are of great scientific interest.

The works of P.Klymenko and V.Gagenmeister deserve special mention among the published works of the members of the Kamianets'-Podil'skyi scientific society at the Academy of Sciences.

While working in Kamianets'-Podil'skyi, P.Klymenko discovered a considerable collection of documents on the extension of the workshop system. As a result the author published a number of works[15], among which that entitled "The Workshops in Ukraine" deserves special attention[16]. In this work the author analyzes the state of research, gives his own views on the history and peculiarities of the workshop system in Ukraine, undertakes a comparative analysis of the specific character of the workshop systems in Left-Bank and Right-Bank Ukraine, and includes a great deal of factual material, such as workshop registers, and statues of the trade societies of Podillia. The information regarding the earthenware workshops in the cities and towns of the Ukraine is also of great interest, as is the consideration of their influence on the development of rural trades. According to the author's estimates some 20 administrative areas had such professional organizations.

The establishment and active functioning of the School of Ethnography and Local Lore in the 1920's is connected with the name of a talented pencil artist, art-critic, indefatigable researcher of Ukrainian art, organizer of publications,

pedagogue and teacher of the Kamianets'-Podil'skyi IPE, and director of Kamianets'-Podil'skyi School of Art and Trades from 1916 till 1933, V.Gagenmeister[17]. A considerable part of his varied self-sacrificing work was encouraged by his interest in the material and spiritual culture of Podillia. V.Gagenmeister arrived in Kamianets'-Podil'skyi from Pskov in 1916. In Pskov, he finished the vocational school of technical drawing run by baron Stiglitz and worked as a teacher of ceramics at the school of art and trades patronized by M. von der Flit[18].

As a practitioner of applied arts, he was brought up on the traditions of the Russian school of ceramics. He had not paid particular attention to the domestic life, customs and folk art of the people. Therefore, during his stay in Podillia V.Gadenmeister studied traditions and domestic culture of the region in his work with great interest, and involved like-minded individuals, students and followers: O.Adamovych, Krzeminskyi, V.Zhurman, V.Shavrin and others. At the H.Skovoroda lithographic workshop, with the assistance of U.Sitsinskyi and O.Prusevych, he published about 250 brochures, booklets, and leaflets that reflected and popularized the distinctive originality of Podillia dwellers. These publications were of a high artistic, graphic and textual level[19]. V.Gagenmeister, was also active at the RCPMPA, at the Kamianets'-Podil'skyi Scientific Society, at the AWAS, and took part in the research work of the Department of National Economy and Culture of Podillia IPE.

On summer holidays, V.Gagenmeister and the students of the Art and Trades School organized research groups that on expeditions collected samples of folk art, studied the history of famous folk-art and recorded the creative work of the craftsmen of Podillia. Later the acquired knowledge and skills were integrated into the school curriculum. This research focused on the pottery, embroidery, murals, paper decorations, folk costumes, and architecture of the countryside of Podillia. Among the works published in the lithographic workshop there are materials collected by V.Gagenmeister, that are of special interest to experts on the earthenware of Podillia: "Ancient Times in Ukraine: Earthenware in Podillia, the town of Bar " (1921). "The Potters of Batsutsa" (1927), "Grecian ceramics" (1927), " The Murals of Podillia" (1927), "Kakhli: Ukraine, Russia, Poland" (1927), "Samples of Folk Art from Podillia " (1927), "Rural Murals in the Land of Kamianets'-Podil'skii: Materials for the Study of Ukrainian Rural Art 1917 – 1927 " (1930) etc.[20]; O.Adamovych wrote such works as "Potter bowls of the village of Budnivka" (1927)[21], and published a collection of postcards entitled "Earthenware in Podillia: the village of Adamivka, Kamianets'ka okruha" (1929)[22] etc.

Although these publications were not conceived to carry out a thorough study of the state of the trades in Podillia, they recorded and preserved important information about the most remarkable extant centers and their talented craftsmen, provided some samples of the most common wares of the region giving their artistic and stylistic peculiarities, and also made note of collections of ceramics of other nations in the holdings of Podillian museums. There are other publications of the lithographic workshop of the Art and Trades School that deserved the close consideration of experts especially those, which elucidated the activity of the school. The Arts and Trades School was the only educational institution in Podillia that had a department of ceramics in its framework. Reports, statues, surveys and other documents give complete information about the history and development of the school, its staff, its students and graduates, the curriculum and syllabus, the achievements and difficulties of the workshops, participation in exhibitions, expeditions and other actions etc.[23] Unfortunately, these materials were published in small numbers, 50 –100 copies, and now they are a bibliographic rarity. Today, not a single library, has in its collection the compete range of the works mentioned in literature of the 1920s. Some of the publications are preserved in the collection of Kamianets'-Podil'skyi State Museum-Reserve, others are in private collections. It has been ascertained that within the period of 1921 – 1931 the school published more than 40 scientific works, 6 of them were specially devoted to the ceramics of Podillia. There is another work, mentioned in the archive documents of 1928, which was prepared for publication. "Samples of the Prehistoric Ceramics of Podillia", but this author has not yet managed to locate it[24]. It can hardly be questioned that the creative heritage and experience of V.Gagenmeister and the educational institution of art and trades which was administered by him deserve thorough study. There are some recent works on the subject and publications on the folk art of Podillia are to be reissued, and others are to be published for the first time. The significance of this work is made more remarkable by the fact that the self-sacrificing work of V.Gagenmeister and his school is connected with a prolific stage in the development of the ethnography of Podillia that has not yet been fully studied. In the 1920s, scholar and a great many amateur students were surged forward in their work by the general rise in the local lore movement and showed remarkable interest in the spiritual life and productive work of the people. This enthusiasm is reflected in the numerous publications in local lore, in the reports of scholarly institutions and establishments, in periodical publications, which gathered archival materials archives, in unpublished manuscripts, and in the objects filling museums collections. The further research of this material is one of the most significant tasks facing the contemporary ethnologist.

[1] Борисенко В. Нариси з історії української етнології 1920 – 1930 років. – Київ, 2002. – С. 15.
[2] Державний архів Вінницької області (ДАВО). – Ф. Р-254. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 43. – Арк. 141 – 144; Спр. 722. – Арк. 17 – 18; Ф. Р-256. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 722. – Арк. 164 – 165; Ф. Р-400. – Оп. 3. – Спр. 15. – Арк. 4.
[3] Ibid – Ф. Р-847. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 61. – Арк. 366 – 370; Баженов Л. Поділля в працях дослідників і краєзнавців XIX – XX ст. – Кам'янець-Подільський, 1993. – С. 45 – 46.
[4] Мітюков О. Радянське архівне будівництво на Україні: 1917 – 1973. – Київ, 1974. – С. 52.
[5] ДАВО. – Ф. Р-254. – Оп. 1. – Спр. 18. – С. 1 – 5; Ф. Р-650. – Оп. 1. – Арк. 1 – 75.
[6] Ibid. – Арк. 143 – 144.
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Лідія МЕЛЬНИЧУК
Київ

НАРОДНІ ПРОМИСЛИ ПОДІЛЛЯ В ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ НАУКОВИХ ОСЕРЕДКІВ КРАЮ 20-х РОКІВ XX СТОЛІТТЯ

Останнім часом зріс інтерес науковців до історії та історіографії української етнології, зокрема й до вивчення стану її регіональних досліджень. Часом найвищого піднесення вітчизняної етнологічної школи і виходу її на європейський рівень стали 20-ті роки XX століття. Цей період позитивно позначився й на етнографічному вивченні Поділля, яке плідно розвивалося у контексті всенародного піднесення краєзнавчого руху.

Важливий внесок у збагачення знань про матеріальну культуру та заняття населення Поділля зробила у 20-х роках місцева наукова еліта, яка в цій справі об'єднала навколо себе широкий загал дослідників та краєзнавців-аматорів.

Стаття присвячена аналізу організаторської діяльності та творчого доробку наукових осередків Поділля в дослідженні народних промислів краю 20-х років XX століття.

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THE STUDY OF HISTORIC-ETHNOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. VOLODYMYR IN KYIV, late 19th – early 20th century

One of the features of the national-state revival of Ukraine in the late 19th – early 20th century was an increasing public interest in Ukraine's historical past.

The study and application of the historical-cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people resulted in its critical consideration and mastery in subsequent historical scholarship.

A considerable contribution to the development of historical studies in Ukraine in the second half of 19th century was made by the Scientific Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler, founded on 24 November, 1872, in Kyiv, by historians and regional ethnographers[1]. M.O.Maksymovych, the first rector of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr in Kyiv and, later, an honorary member of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler, is considered by the majority of scholars to be the Society's founder. During the 50 years of its activity more than one generation of talented Ukrainian and Russian scholars' who made significant scholarly contributions to the historical studies creatively co-operated in this Society.

According to the extant materials and documents, the themes of interest in the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler spanned a wide range of historical-philological topics. There were reports on the Past and modern history of Ukraine and Russia, as well as on the general history, historiography, bibliography, study of sources, literary study, linguistics, philosophy, archaeology, ethnography etc.

Among the members of the Society who focused on Kyiv's past relies and folk-lore were such prominent historians as V.B.Antonovych, M.P.Dashkevych, V.S.Ikonnikov, V.Ye.Danylevych, P.I.Zhytets'kyi, V.Z.Zavytnevych, A.A.Kotliarevs'kyi, A.M.Lazarevs'kyi, P.G.Lebedyntsev, A.I.Sobolevs'kyi, I.P.Khruschov.

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Quite a number of brilliant scientists studied historic-ethnographic topics. Among them were such representatives of the Ukrainian and Russian intelligentsia as: M.F.Biliashivs'kyi, S.S.Hamchenko, V.G.Heorgievs'kyi, M.S.Hrushevs'kyi, Ye.I.De-Vitte, L.P.Dobrovol'skyi, M.V.Dovnar-Zapol's'kyi, V.M.Domanyts'kyi, F.P.Istomin, I.M.Kamanin, I.F.Kamens'kyi, V.P.Kan'shyn, F.I.Knauer, Yu.A.Kulakovs'kyi, A.M.Lazarevs'kyi, P.O.Lashkariov, I.A.Linnichenko, I.V.Luchyts'kyi, V.G.Liaskorons'kyi, S.A.Mazaraki, I.I.Malyshevs'kyi, G.D.Milieiev, M.O.Obolons'kyi, V.V.Ogloblin, N.D.Polons'ka, I.O.Sikors'kyi, A.I.Stepovych, P.S.Uvarova, V.M.Scherbakivs'kyi, V.I.Scherbyna, M.M.Iasyns'kyi and others. These individuals were both actual and honorary members of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler. And many among them were Professors of the University of St. Volodymyr or representatives of other educational establishments from different regions of Russian Empire. A few of them were also progressive women.

The dissemination of historical study, and the differentiation and specialization of scholarship into different fields was influenced by the development of the structure of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler that was divided into departments. Research was conducted in such areas as: archaeology, the study of sources, archival study, historiography, historical geography, and regional ethnography.

The members of the society published their scholarly research in *"Chteniia v Istoricheskom obcshestve Nestora-letopistsa"*[2]. The journal was published from 1879 – 1914 and totaled 24 volumes. It contained research on a wide range of topics ranging from Ukrainian and world history to philology, philosophy, ethnography, and archaeology. Preserved in this journal is the historical heritage of V.Ikonnikov, V.Antonovych, O.Lazarevs'kyi, D.Bahalii, M.Dashkevych, I.Luchyts'kyi and other outstanding scientists. Their work exemplifies separate stages in the development of historical studies in Ukraine. Historical sources published in the journal of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler (from the prince's epoch till 19th century including) are extremely valuable documents for understanding the historical outlook and cultural issues Prevalent in Ukrainian society at the end of 19th – beginning of 20th c. In each journal, along with scholarly research, annual minutes of the meeting as well as other information regarding the society were published this material clearly reflects the Society's activities and make it possible for later historians to draw conclusions regarding the scientific-educational and social work of the society members.

During the Publication period of the journal of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler many works on ethnography, folk-lore and archaeology were published. The works on archaeological excavations were closely connected with ethnography; in fact the two fields are often interlaced.

Some of the ethnographic research of the members of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler came out as separate publications, or appeared on the pages of "Kievskaia Starina" so magazine that appeared in 1882[3]. For a long time the "Kievskaia Starina" served as leading the printed source of information about Ukraine, al though it was published in Russian because of the prohibition imposed on the use of Ukrainian by the Yems'kyi decree of 1876. An outstanding Ukrainian historian, archaeographer, ethnographer, archaeologist, publicist and public figure V.B.Antonovych, who was the Head of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler from 1881 – 1887, took an active part in the publication of "Kievskaia Starina".

Volodymyr Bonifatiiovych Antonovych published many of his works that cover his historic-archaeographic and pedagogic activity, as well as topics in archaeology and numismatics in "*Chteniia v Istoricheskom obcshestve Nestora-letopistsa"*. The total number of his publications in the Society's journal is 66[4]. Some of them are devoted to ethnography and folk-lore, as for example: "Data about the population of the Kyiv area in the 19th c.", "Bronze instruments found in the Kyiv province", "Reflection of historical events in Shevchenko's poetry", "City-squares", "Graves of the Drevliany", "Kyiv voits of Khodyk", "Hand of the administrative, social and class life of the south-western region in 16th and 17th centuries", "Details regarding the treasure found in Chernihiv by Mr. Samokvasov near the remains of the noble man cremated during burial" and others.

The interest of V.B.Antonovych in the history of culture and ethnography made it possible for scholars to prepare competent publications in this subject. For example, in 1874 – 1875 he compiled together with M.P.Drahomaniv "Historical songs of the Malorus' people"[5]. The name of the gatherer and collector was indicated for each song, and notes on every version of the song were provided. For some songs even the versions of other peoples' were added. Comparative notes for such songs bore witness to cultural ties, and relations of Ukrainians with other nations. The scholarly level of this work was highly praised by specialists[6].

The intensive scholarly and pedagogic activity of V.B.Antonovych and organizational changes in the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler resulted in its division into departments. This in turn prompted interest in the study of ethnography and resulted in its introduction as an educational discipline at Kyiv University. The teachers of the University, especially the members of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler, encouraged students and drew them in into ethnographic research in all possible ways. Students developed a profound interest in the historic-ethnographic circle established at Kyiv University.

The idea the founding of the circle came about at the end of the 1902 – 1903 academic year. After some elaboration and confirmation of the Circle's Regulations by the historic-philologic faculty of Kyiv University the

establishment of the organization was approved by the Minister of National Education in September 1903[7]. The Circle began its activity on September, 30, 1903. The first meeting of the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle was opened by its chairman M.V.Dovnar-Zapol's'kyi, a professor of Kyiv University from 1901 and an actual member of the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler. He headed the Circle for the 10 years of its existence. Mytrofan Viktorovych graduated from the historical-philological department of Kyiv University in 1894; he was a student of V.B.Antonovych[8].

Professor M.V.Dovnar-Zapol's'kyi, and the students Berliner, Bohumyl, Hnievushev, Mykhailov, Panshyn, Selinov, Smyrnov V., Smyrnov P., Ternovs'kyi, Kholodnyi, Shpet became the founding members of the circle.

The Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle had 103 members. Students from all department who were interested in historic-ethnographic problems became members in the first years of its existence. However, students from the Historical-Philological department of Kyiv University always formed the majority. Somewhat later only students of the Historical-Philological department remained members of the Circle. This change was due to increasing specialized the direction of the Circle's activity.

In different years A.M.Arnautov, A.G.Bohumyl, R.L.Vatemburh, A.M.Hnievushev, A.K.Zakhvalyns'kyi, B.F.Pan'shyn, P.P.Smyrnov, Ye.D.Stashevs'kyi, Ya.N.Shtokhin, A.Ya.Shpakovs'kyi, M.F.Ianyts'kyi served as secretary of the Circle.

During the whole period of its activity the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle had 64 meetings where reports were delivered and administrative and organizational problems were discussed. In general 92 reports, (including 6 speeches), were made. As a rule these were reports on the history of Kyivian Rus', on the peoples of the Russian Empire, on world history, philosophy, sociology, ethnography, folk-lore, and archaeology, etc. Some reports were about concrete historical, political and public figures, as well as representatives of science and culture. In their scientific works students described the figures, summarized their activity and their views. Also, during the meetings of the Circle accounts and results of the investigations and expeditions, of its members were read.

Under the direction of the chairman, M.V.Dovnar-Zapol's'kyi, the Circle organized a large number of expeditions. At the beginning of 1910, students went to Moscow to see historical monuments and visit archives. In the summer of 1911, Circle members took part in the Archaeologic Congress held in Novgorod. In the spring of 1913, the Student's Circle explored the newly-discovered Zvirenets'ki caves in Kyiv (under the guidance of the Circle member and participant in the excavations S.P.Vel'min). The same year young scientists visited the library of the University of St. Volodymyr, where they were received very warmly. The students under the guidance of librarian Veniamin Oleksandrovych Kordt acquainted themselves with the library's collection. In May 1913, the circle visited the Archaeological Museum at the University of St. Volodymyr under the guidance of Mrs. Kateryna Mykolaivna Antonovych, an actual member of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler, who assisted young people their search for information.

There is no doubt that the expedition of three members of the Circle (B.A.Pan'shyn, V.M.Fidrovs'kyi and N.N.Ternovs'kyi) sent by the Moscow Archaeological Society to Tul's'k, to the Podil's'k province and to the archives of Katerynoslav should be considered as part of the Circle's activity. Besides, such members of the circle as V.M.Bazylevych, I.I.Bezruchko-Zelens'kyi, A.G.Bohumyl, G.M.Bilotserkovs'kyi, A.M.Hnievushev, A.A.Ivanovs'kyi, F.V.Klymenko, I.F.Kovba, B.G.Kurts, G.A.Maksymovych, V.A.Romanovs'kyi, P.P.Smyrnov, Ye.D.Stashevs'kyi and M.F.Ianyts'kyi worked in Moscow, Petersburg, Kyiv and other archives[9].

At the beginning of the 1911 – 1912 academic year, the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle created an archeological museum. At first the museum exposition was showcased in a cupboard in the psychology seminar room. Later, with the permission of the university administration, the Circle moved the newly-created museum to another auditorium. S.P.Vel'min was elected keeper of the museum.

During the ten years' existence of the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle the reports of its members were published either as independent works or in such magazines as "University News", "News of the Taurian Scientific Archival Commission", "The Magazine of the Ministry of National Education", "News of the Russian Language and Literature Department of the Imperial Academy of Sciences", "The Work of the Riazan' Scientific Archival Commission". Detailed reports on the Circle's activity were published as appendices in the works of such members as B.N.Baranovs'kyi, G.M.Bilotserkovs'kyi, S.P.Vel'min, A.K.Zakhvalyns'kyi, I.F.Kovba, M.F.Ianyts'kyi. Some works of by the Circle members were dedicated to the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle. The works of M.F.Ianyts'kyi, "Economic crisis in the Novgorod region in the 16th century", and of H.M.Bilotserkivs'kyi, "Tula and the Tula District in the 16th – 17th centuries", were specially dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the Circle's activity.

The result of the scholarly activity of the students, was the publication by the University of the first collection of articles by the members Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle in May, 1913[10]. The first collection included works by: P.V.Orlov, "Foreign workers in Moscow in the 17th century"; D.N.Bogorodyts'kyi, "Trade in Nizhnii

Novgorod in 16th – 17th centuries"; A.M.Hnievushev, "Novgorodskaia vyt' in the palace lands in 17th century"; N.F.Ianyts'kyi "The trade of fur goods in the 17th century"; and S.H.Kolomyns'kyi "The trade of salt in Rus' in the 16th – 17th centuries and the general condition of salt-mines in the indicated period of time". The Circle members published eight volumes of their scholarly work that were edited by M.V.Dovnar-Zapol's'kyi.

Progressive young women with a higher education participated in the activity of the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle. V.Ie.Kozlovs'ka, a student of the Advanced Courses for Women, was the first sponsor of the Circle. Countess Uvarova Paraskoviia Sergiivna from Moscow was the first woman to become an honorary member of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler on May, 15, 1905. She supported the development of the student's Circle in every way. The actual members of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler Ielyzaveta Ivanivna De-Vitte and above mentioned Kateryna Mykolaivna Antonovych also helped the students. Women delivered interesting scholarly reports at the meetings of the Circle. For example, N.D.Polons'ka, when she was a student at Advanced Courses for Women the St. Ol'ga branch of the University of St. Volodymyr, delivered a paper "Finds in the Podol'sk province" at the 1909 – 1910 meeting of the circle[11]. Later, Natalia Polons'ka, with the approval of the Ministry of National Education, took and successfully completed examinations in the historical-philological department of the University of St. Volodymyr and received the its degree, № 4531[12]. On February 27, 1911 she was elected an actual member of the Kyiv Society for the Protection of Historical monuments and of Art; and in 1912 she was elected an actual member of the Scientific Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler. On May 11 (23), 1916, Natalia Dmytrivna was appointed private assistant professor of Kyiv University[13].

The student's of the Historic-Ethnographic Circle became scholars who continued their activity at Kyiv University as teachers. Among them were private assistant professors of St. Volodymyr University and actual members of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler, Pavlo Petrovych Smyrnov and Ievhen Dmytrovych Stashevs'kyi, who during the Circle's existence partook in it's activities. Former members of the Circle, Andrii Mykhailovych Hnievushev, Heorgii Andriiovych Maksymovych and others later became members of the Scholarly Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler. This society shared many interests common with the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle, supported its creative development and growth. This creative link between the young members of the Circle and the older generation of historians, who were members of the Scholarly Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler is an example of the heredity of traditions.

So, at the beginning of the 20th century the Scholarly Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler was marked by a high professional level and a creative peak in various areas of scholarly research. Reorganizational changes, that divided the society into specialized departments, were already in this clearly determined the directions of further scholarly work. The unprecedent interest of the older generation of historians towards the study of ethnographicy generated a new wave of interested among students. Young enthusiasts – members of the Student's Historic-Ethnographic Circle together with and under the patronage of members of Society of Nestor the Chronicler advanced the field of historic-ethnography to such a professional level that their work became a significant contribution to the development of historical thought in Ukraine. The Circle was a scholarly centre and a creative oasis where young historians developed, matured and then progressed to higher level scholarly institutions, such as the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler.

The Society of Nestor the Chronicler through its historic-ethnographic activity aroused the scholarly interest and aspiration for self-education all over Ukraine. Revived in 1995, the Society of Nestor the Chronicler continues the tradition of historic-ethnographic research in Ukrainian that, during the Soviet period of Kyiv University's existence, was hampered in every way.

The published scholarly inheritance of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler, especially the works on ethnography, has not lost its importance and begs further research. Documentary sources and works on historic-ethnographic problems published on the pages of "Lectures of the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler" are used only to a limited extent; this considerably decreases the level of knowledge about the contents of the scholarly inheritance of the society and does not allow for an objective estimation of its activity.

The inheritance of traditions from one generation of historians to the next can be traced in the approaches to topics in Ukrainian history. Thus, the Scholarly Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler stimulated the creation of the Student's Historic-Ethographic Circle by the students of the Imperial University of St. Volodymyr in Kyiv. This student organization in than became a source of scholars and pedagogical specialists for the Society itself, as well as for Kyiv University and the country in general.

The historical school of Kyiv University exerted a significant influence on the activities of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler and promoted a direction of research that in its given historical circumstances was clearly seen as having a national character and was labeled "ukrainistyka".

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ВИВЧЕННЯ ІСТОРИКО-ЕТНОГРАФІЧНИХ ПРОБЛЕМ В КИЇВСЬКОМУ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІ СВ. ВОЛОДИМИРА В КІНЦІ XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТОЛІТТЯ

Стаття присвячена науково-видавничій спадщині Історичного товариства Нестора-літописця та студентського історико-етнографічного гуртка при Київському імператорському університеті святого Володимира (кінець XIX – початок XX століття). У статті відстежується спадкоємність традицій між істориками різних поколінь. Діяльність товариства Нестора-літописця характеризується високим професійним рівнем та творчим піднесенням з усіх напрямів наукових досліджень. Небувалий інтерес старшого покоління істориків до вивчення етнографічної проблематики народив нову хвилю зацікавлених молодих науковців серед студентства. Це дало поштовх до створення студентського історико-етнографічного гуртка. Наукові доробки гуртківців на рівні з працями членів товариства Нестора-літописця є якісним внеском у розвиток історичної думки нашої країни.

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ETHNIC AND CREED DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN MODERN UKRAINE: TENDENCIES AND PERSPECTIVES

Activization of ethnic and state formation processes in the end of 80s – beginning of 90s in Ukraine was stipulated by the crisis of the Soviet totalitarian regime. This activization entailed a wave of national and religious renaissance, and substantial renewal of ethnopolitical, national, cultural, spiritual and religious life.

One of the proofs to it, is a development of ramified religion networks, considerable variety of number of creeds, increase in number of believers and strengthening of their religiousness in the years of Ukraine's independence. Thus, during the period of 1988 – 2002 total number of religious organizations[1] in Ukraine has grown up from 6500 to 38384, i.e. almost sixfold. Number of churches, creeds, denominations and trends has grown up from 18 to 105 during this period. Process of new religious organizations development was especially intensive in the last three years (2000 – 2002): +7686, the highest index was that of 2001 (+3040). Orthodox churches, Protestant unions and associations are developing in steadily growing pace. The number of 14328 communities that were formed in 1992 – 2002 includes 7437 (51,9%) of Orthodox and 4988 (34,8%) of Protestant trend. All in all, by the beginning of 2003, 53,6% of all religion communities of Ukraine are Orthodox (14685 communities) and 27,9% belong to Protestant churches and unions (7634), 12,2% (3334) belong to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church (UGCC) and 3,1% belong to the Rome-Catholic Church[2].

During the last 11 years, among three Orthodox jurisdictions, most essential changes occurred in religion organizations network of Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC) that is under the jurisdiction of Moscow Patriarchy. Its number of communities has grown by 4.567 (+83,5%) and accounted in January 2003 for 10042 religion communities or 68,5% of Ukraine's Orthodox communities. Number of UOC cloisters has reached 144, theological education institutions were up from 2 to 15 and the number of eparchy administrations grew up from 22 to 36. 5.021 UOC communities carry out their activity in the country's Central region, 2737 (27,5%) in North-Eastern regions and 2284 (22,75%) in Western Ukraine. Its network covers almost all the territory and is dominant in 23 of 26 regions. Most of its religious communities are in Vinnyts'ka, Khmelnyts'ka, Zakarpats'ka regions and least – in Ivano-Frankivs'ka, L'vivs'ka, Ternopil's'ka.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyiv Patriarchy (UOC-KP) was definitively deprived of its exceptionally regional religious institution. After presidential elections of 1994 UOC-KP had lost its unlimited support from the side of the state, and regarding this some were making prophecies as for its cardinal retreat. But until today it remains the earnest factor on the creeds scene of Ukraine. If by the beginning of 1993 the Church have had 87,3% of its communities in the Western region, then in January 2003 UOC-KP has 13,9% of all communities in South-Eastern region and 41,4% in Central regions. Most of them are active in L'vivs'ka, Ivano-Frankivs'ka, Rivnens'ka, Kyivs'ka, Volyns'ka and Ternopils'ka regions, least are in Lugans'ka, Kharkivs'ka, Zakarpats'ka and AR Crimea.

UOC-KP has 3196 religious communities, the divine service in them is carried out by 2514 priests. Its structure has Patriarchy, 30 eparchy administrations, 31 cloisters, 21 missions, 10 congregations, 17 theological education institutions and 2115 cult constructions. The Church activity is highlighted by 18 religious periodicals.

Institution network of Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church (UAOC) includes Patriarchy, 11 eparchy administrations, 7 theological education institutions, 3 cloisters, 1 congregation, 6 missions and 1110 religious communities of true adherents. The number of religious communities had been increased by 121 during the period of 2000 – 2002. Nevertheless, the number of communities decreased by 475 in 1992 – 1999, mainly in connection with the jurisdiction subordination change in 620 communities in favour of UOC-KP. These were the Western region communities, firstly of Ivano-Frankivs'ka, L'vivs'ka and Ternopils'ka regions. Along this, registration of 145 religious communities in the centre and Southern East of Ukraine had taken place during the above-mentioned time. Today 816 (73,5%) religious communities of UAOC carry out their activity in the Western region.

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Main events connected with renaissance of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church had taken place in 1989 – 1991 and they occurred in a really explosive manner. From the moment of legalization of its activity (November 1989) the Church had renovated its structures and even outstripped its pre-war level. The number of Greek-Catholics religious communities has grown up from 138 half-legal centres without juridical person rights, and in January 1992 reached the number of 2334 communities enjoying full rights. In the years of Ukraine's sovereignty the Church had widened the network of its communities by 1000. Today it has in its structure a Metropolitanate, Kyiv-Vyshgorodsky Exarchate, 9 eparchies (they consists of 3334 communities), 90 cloisters, 14 theological education institutions, 24 periodicals, 2665 cult constructions and 2075 priests. Almost 99% of Greek-Catholic organizations are located in Galychyna and Zakarpattia, there they make a separate Mukachivs'ka eparchy that is not a member of UGCC, but is ruled directly by the Apostolic capital. If by the beginning of 1992 the Church was represented in only 13 regions and in Kyiv, then in January 2003 its communities are only lacking in Kirovograds'ka region. For the period of 2000 – 2002 growth of UGCC communities took place not only in the Western (+79), but as well in regions untraditional for Greek-Catholicism: Khmelnyts'ka (+5), Chernivets'ka (+7), Vinnits'ka (+4), Volyns'ka (+4), Donets'ka (+4), Odes"ka (+2), Poltavs'ka (+2) regions and AR Crimea (+2).

Rome-Catholic ruling structure got practically crystallized form in Ukraine after conferring to L'vivs'ka archdiocese a status of metropolitanate. Since the beginning of 1992 the Church has expanded its network by 395 communities (or 87,4%) and has now 847 communities, 78 cloisters, 31 missions, 7 theological education institutions, 504 Sunday schools, 751 cult constructions and 477 priests. The Western region yielded its leadership in number of RCC organizations during the second half of 90s. If in mid-eighties there were 61,2% of them, then in 1992 there already were 54,8%, in 1996 – 49%, in 2001 – 46,1%, and by the beginning of 2003 – 44,1%. In 1992 – 2002 most of RCC organizations were registered in the Central region (352 from 520, or 67,7%). The highest rate of RCC network development was marked in Zhytomyrs'ka (+77, total – 132 organizations), Khmelnytska (+55,139) and Vinnits'ka (+54, 124) regions. Dynamic penetration of Rome-Catholicism to the Central and Eastern regions cause negative reaction of Orthodox churches that consider this to be nothing else but proselytism, "catholicising" of Orthodox Ukraine, overt encroachment upon their adherents and "canonical territories" of Orthodoxy[3].

According to the data given above it is obvious that the largest Orthodox creeds lag behind substantially in development dynamism when compared to RCC.

We must confess that its active pace during 90s was to a certain extent a surprise. The fact that the RCC has become attractive and useful not only for "traditional" Catholics of Polish or Hungarian origin, but as well for Ukrainians independent of its influence, can be explained in the following way: RCC has carried out its activity when taking in account spiritual needs of modern believers, and offered its adherents modern forms of bringing to the Divine and has been open to spiritual treasury of other religions churches' traditions.

As M.Kyrushko pointed out "ethnic structure" of this church has altered considerably". Practically, there are already no German Catholics. Poles are no more a majority in most of the communities, Ukrainians are often dominant in them , there appeared many Russians and representatives of other nationalities. Changes took place in social structure of believers as well: there are now many townspeople, students, science and arts intelligentsia. All this witnesses that the Rome-Catholicism can be no more regarded as something completely alien to the Ukrainian folk, it also becomes certain religious gains of Ukrainians, and is not only a creed of an ethnic minority[4].

O.Nedavnya makes completely right conclusion, basing on the context of the above-mentioned: that in conditions of historically secularized Ukraine with a variety of creeds, phenomenon of Ukrainians in Rome-Catholic church appears to be one of the possible ways of their spiritual development, their reintegration into their natural environment of European folks, which had been brought up in West-Ukrainian cultural tradition[5].

The Protestantism is represented in Ukraine by 35 churches, trends and directions. By the beginning of 2003, 7634 Protestant communities were functioning in the country, that accounts for 27,9% of religious network in front of 20,9% of January 1992. All-Ukrainian Union of Associations of Evangelical Christians-Baptists is the most influential and important Protestant church (2.230 communities, 29,2% of total number of Protestant associations). All-Ukrainian Union of Christian Evangelical Creed (Christians of 50th day) has 1366 communities (17,9%), Ukrainian Union Conference of 7th day Adventists Church has 865 communities (11,3%) and Jehovah Witnesses – 858 (11,2%).

Developed institution network of Protestant churches and other unions and associations made it possible to increase since 1992 the number of communities of Protestant tendency by 4855 (or 175%), that figure includes Baptists – 1226, 50th day adherents – 1038, Adventists – 609. In south-eastern region the Protestant organizations network grew from 670 up to 2473 (almost 4 times as much), in the Central it grew by 2026 (180%) and in the Western – by 1041 (76,8%).

As we can see, increase in number of Protestant centres in the East and South of Ukraine compensates more slow development in the Western region, that until late had been main area of the creed's expansion. In the end of

90s, Protestant communities accounted for 51% of total number of Kyiv's religion communities, 49% of communities of Donets'ka region, 46% of Zakarpats'ka region, 36% of Odes'ka region; at the same time their part in L'vivs'ka region communities was 8,6% and in Ternopils'ka region – 7%.

Basing on analysis of publications referring directly or indirectly to Protestantism in Ukraine, one can say that in spite of notions of "being alien" and "sectarian", today's quick growth of Protestant churches and even "protestantisation" of Ukraine is more widely expressed. The figures are the argument, here they demonstrate the growth of communities, appearing of new churches and trends, especially in Central-Eastern region and large cities. Famous researcher of Protestantism, V.Lubaschenko, has somewhat different opinion. She considers the achievements of Protestants to be quite moderate and thinks that prophecies concerning Protestant "boom" in Ukraine are more likely to be an attempt to scare an ordinary Ukrainian by prospective of a new religious tension[6]. Her conclusion seems to be quite correct, when taking in account the fact that the figures witnessing dynamic growth of Protestant communities number, mainly reflect the formal side of religious life and not always give a picture of real state of affairs. Not withstanding the fact that number of Protestant communities totals 28% of religious network, their specific weight among the population is not a great one. In accordance with the data of Philosophy Institute of NAS of Ukraine, in 1996 real number of Protestantism adherents in the structure of creed priorities of Ukraine came just to 2,2% of interrogated persons. In 1992 – 2002 the number of communities created by minorities grew from 175 up to 897. More than a half of them (452) are Moslem, 107 – communities of Zakarpats'ka (Hungarian) Reformatory Churches, 71 – communities of German Evangelic-Lutheran Church, 22 – religion communities of Armenian Apostolic and Catholic Churches. Single religion communities created by Koreans, Swedes, Czechs, Krymchaks and Karaimes in Crimea carry out their activity as well. Pace of Jewish communities growth is immersing: during the period of 1999 – 2002 their number grew from 143 to 232 (+89, 162,2%). The highest number of communities created on ethnic and creed ground are active in south-eastern regions of Ukraine, namely in AR Crimea, where the majority of Moslem, Krymchaks and Karaimes communities is located.

Islam in Ukraine is an integral part of religious life of the society. Regions where the majority of Islam adherents is concentrated are AR Crimea, Donets'ka, Lugans'ka, Kharkivs'ka, Khersons'ka regions and Kyiv. Moslems have no common ruling structure. Presently, three registered autonomic centres are active: Spiritual Administration of Moslems of Ukraine (DUMU) in Kyiv, Spiritual Administration of Moslems of Crimea (DUMK) and Independent Spiritual Administration of Moslems of Ukraine (NDUMU).

The most important issue is the training of specialists of Moslem clergy. There was no any person with secondary or higher education among those, who had returned from deportation. Invitation of missionaries from Turkey and assignment for studies in Islamic countries do not soothe this burning question. In this connection, first steps were made on the way to creation of own system of training of Moslem clergy in Ukraine. Madrasah function in Crimea. Islamic University in Kyiv and Institute in Donets'k. One can sharply feel the lack of mosques. Communities are provided by cult constructions only to the rate of 40%. Building of new mosques is fulfilled mainly on account of foreign sponsors. Private funds of Turkey support financially the building, but gradually they decrease financing volumes, as to the opinion of some Turkish analysts: Crimean Tartars religiousness is very low.

Moslem communities act within the framework of the legislation currently in force, adhere to principles of Ukrainian sovereignty, and not allow the demonstration of radical religious fanaticism and extremism. The survey held among Crimean Tartars deported earlier, aimed for studying of social opinion, appraisals and notions of repatriates of the most important and burning problems of adaptation and integration in Crimea, shown that facts of infringement of their rights from the side of local authorities were stated by 15,0% of all respondents, in education sphere (1,7%), limitations as to freedom of expressing one's own thoughts (1,2%), obstacles in applying one's mother tongue (0,9%) and only 0,4% pointed to obstacles in performing rites and cult worship[7].

In 1992 – 2000 in Ukraine were widely expanded new religious trends. Number of communities of their adherents has grown for this period from 83 up to 1328, they belong to 50 different trends (28 of them have only from 1 to 5 centres). Most widespread in Ukraine are communities of Novoapostol's'ka Church (51), Jesus Christ and Saints of the Last days Church (Mormons) – 57, Association of Krishna Confession (42), RUN faith (54), Bagaja faith (12), Buddhists (36) and so on. Total of 720 communities of adherents of new religious trends (or 54,2%) are concentrated in south-eastern region of the country.

559 charismatic communities belong to new for Ukraine religions, 283 of them are subordinates to the Church of Full Gospel with spiritual centre in Kyiv, 34 of them belong to the Church of God Alive (activity area – Vinnits'ka, L'vivs'ka and Zakarpats'ka regions with the centre in Mukachevo). 166 charismatic communities act autonomously. In 2000 on the base of 100 communities (99 in Donets'ka region) that originated from the Church of Full Gospel, Ukrainian Christian Evangelic Church with the centre in Kyiv was created. Charismatic communities networks tends to grow steadily – from 27 in 1992 to 559 in January 2001 (2,3% of all religion communities in Ukraine). The charismatic trend is most widespread in south-eastern region, where 338 communities are active

(or 56,4% of their total number). For example in Donets'ka region there are 123 communities, in AR Crimea – 45, Zaporiz'ka region – 47, Kyiv – 25.

As we can see, regional division of religious new trends differs principally from the established creed configuration of the country, that is a good deal biased to the West. Thus, the majority of alternative religions adherents are the inhabitants of Central, Eastern and Northern regions of Ukraine. Parameters of new religious trends are the regions, where the infrastructure and influence of historical churches are comparatively weak; regions where the struggle with instituted religiousness caused the most severe consequences; urbanized regions and regions subject to the greatest influence of overseas missions.

The numbers stated above, which characterize now religious life, witness the presence of cardinal changes. The development of religions complex in Ukraine, that took place in the last years have had a multivector character and had an impact on all of its components: central religious administrations, cloisters, theological education institutions, communities. One can assert that the network of religion organizations of Ukraine is completely sufficient to satisfy the religious needs of believers. It gains more and more optimal parameters and its extensive growth is weakening gradually.

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[1] According to the law of Ukraine concerning freedom of conscience and religion organizations ("Pro svobodu sovisti ta religijni organizatsii"), official statistics regard, along with religious communities, also creeds' administrative centres, cloisters, theological education institutions, Sunday schools, missions and congregations as religion organizations.

[2] Here and further the statistics data is given from: Informatsiinyi zvit Derzhkomreligii za 1999 rik "Pro stan ta tendentsii rozvytku religiinoi sytuatsii i derzhavno-tserkovnyh vidnosyn v Ukraini" // Lyudyna i svit. – 2000. – № 3. – Pp. 24 – 30; Religiini organizatsii v Ukraini stanom na 1 sichnia 2000 roku // Lyudyna i svit. – 2000. – № 1. – Pp. 26 – 29; Natsional'ni menshyny Ukrainy u XX stolitti: polityko-pravovyi aspekt. – Kyiv, 2000. – Pp. 338 – 340; Informatsijnyj zvit Derzhkomreligij za 2000 r. "Pro stan i tendentsii rozvytku religiinoi sytuatsii ta derzhavno-tserkovnyh vidnosyn v Ukraini" // Lyudyna i svit. – 2001 – № 2 – 3. – P. 31 – 33; Religiini organizatsii v Ukraini stanom na 1 sichnya 2003 roku // Lyudyna i svit. – 2003. – № 1. – Pp. 31 – 38.

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ЕТНОКОНФЕСІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ В СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНІ: ТЕНДЕНЦІЇ І ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

У статті наводяться статистичні параметри змін інституційної мережі релігійних культів в контексті активізації релігійно-церковного життя в Україні протягом останнього десятиріччя. Звертається увага на тенденції та особливості у розвитку православних, католицьких й протестантських конфесій і деномінацій, громад, створених національними меншинами, новітніх релігійних культів. Аргументується багатовекторність характеру трансформації церковної інфраструктури, що торкнулася всіх її складових: центральних релігійних управлінь, духовних навчальних закладів, громад, монастирів, культових приміщень. Автором аналізуються стан і перспективи етноконфесійних процесів в сучасній Україні, визначаються їх регіональні особливості та основні закономірності.

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THE "PODILLIAN DIOCESAN NEWS" ON THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF PODOLLIANS, SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY – BEGINNING OF THE 20th CENTURY

The second half of the 19th century was particularly significant for the development of the ethnography of Podillya. One of the directions followed by the researches, amateur students of this period was the description of the populated areas of the region from the historical, statistical and ethnographical points of view, doing surveys and making reports. This work was being accomplished on the tsarist instruction with the purpose of receiving complete information about the socio-economic conditions and the cultural level of the land which had recently become part of the Russian empire and was practically not familiar to it.

The following organizations were established at the chancellery of the regional administration in Podillya and in other regions of the country to carry out all the tasks: the statistics committee formed in 1862[1], the Podillian diocesan historic-statistical committee[2] established at the diocesan administration on the basis of the Kamyanets'-Podilsky clerical seminary and reorganized in 1903 into the Podillian church historic-archaeological society[3] which existed till the year of 1920. The exploration and research of the region involved wide circles of scholars, priests, servicemen, officials of various ranks, enthusiasts of local lore etc.

Considering the activity of the historic-statistical committee, which collected and recorded a considerable amount of factual material on the tradition and domestic culture of the people in the land, we have the right to state that it became the basis for the development of the first ethnographic school in Podillya. In the history of ethnography it received the name of the Podillian historical and local lore school of the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century[4].

It was initiated and developed by a research circle of the explorers of the land in the 60s – 80s of the 19th century which was based round the Podillian diocesan historic-statistical committee, the Podillian clerical seminary and the periodical "The Podillian Diocesan News" (to the mentioned below as "PDN") which gave full coverage to the progress of the researches work.

As all these institutions represented the interests of the orthodox clergy, the main task of theirs was to firmly establish the position of the orthodox church in opposition to the Catholicism and unionism. Their objective was to describe the churches, monasteries, parishes; to study the history of religious denominations in Podillya etc. Yet, due to the erudition and foresight, self-sacrifice and enthusiasm of the representatives of the committee, the cleric seminary, ethnographies, local lore experts, amateurs the initial aim was considerably extended.

The committee worked out the statute which determined the directions of the research work. It was planned not only to contribute religious materials to the "PDN", but also to collect the monuments of art, literature, archaeology, ethnography, to work with ancient historic literature (acts) without which the through study of the diocese was impossible. On permission of the Holy Synod the publication of the research work was started on January 1, 1862 in the "PDN" (the instruction of August 25, 1861, № 295)[5].

Thus, the activity of the committee and the editing of the periodical "PDN" encouraged a more regular and systematic character of the land study. It raised the renowned ethnographers, local lore experts of Podillya, collected factual material which has not been duely studied up to now, and thus remains topical. Regarding the achievements of the historic-statistical committee we can state that it formed the basis for the development of ethnographic rationalistic in Podillya.

All these arguments can be confirmed by statistics. Thus within the second half of the 19th century the "PDN" published numerous articles written on the basis of the information given by the village parish priests of the Podillian diocese and the representatives of the seminary clergy. The most active of them were: M.Orlovsky, who contributed to the "PDN" (1862 – 1882) about 40 historic essays and historic-statistical descriptions of the towns

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and villages of Podillya; M.Symashkevych , who apart from such essays, published “The historic-geographical and ethnographical outline of Podillya” and a number of research works on the calendar rites of the Podillian people; M.Yavorsky who along with historic-statistical descriptions of villages and parishes created and worked as the editor of the first five issues of “The works of the Podillian historic-statistical committee” (Kamyanets’-Podilsky, 1876, 1887, 1888, 1891); H.Sitsinsky, who is considered by the contemporary expert ethnographers to be the coordinator of the Podillian scientific school of history and local lore, studied both material and spiritual culture of the land’s people (raised the problems of the national peculiarities of the decorative art, wax egg painting, embroidery, folk costumes; worked on the problem of the historic development of the Ukrainian wedding rites in Podillya, burial rites and the conceptions of the people of the extra-mundane world). The famous names of such explorers are as follows: F.Strumensky, P.Tryblaevych, O.Lystova, S.Lyubatynsky, A.Dluhopolsky, M.Doronovych, Z.Shmorhynov, M.Doorokholsky, P.Lanevsky, V.Yakubovych, A.Sabbatovsky, K.Savych, O.Pavlovych, M.Bahynsky, O.Lototsky, O.Prusevych and others who studied the spiritual and material culture of Podillian people.

The “PDN” is a very significant source of the study of the tradition culture of Podillya. It published a great amount of ethnographic materials of the above-mentioned authors. In comparison to the publications on other subjects (mostly religious) they make 20% within the whole period of the editing of the “PDN” (1862 – 1905). The publications on the historic subjects (history, archaeology, ethnography etc.) make 43%. The statistical survey of the annual materials shows that the largest part of ethnographic publications appeared in the 80s of the 19th century, increasing gradually since 1862, and makes 76,5% of the general amount of articles. As to the directions of the ethnographic publications in the “PDN” fill the end of the 19th century the biggest percentage is made by the research works on the spiritual culture of the land (70%). Sporadically it published in this period works on the material culture. Till the end of the 19th century there were published certain pieces of information and small articles on the folk architecture[6], folk costumes[7], rite cookery[8], household culture of Podillians[9], handicraft and trades[10]. The paragraphs on the material culture of Podollians can be found in the articles about the current events in the diocese, publications on the ecclesiastical and religious subjects in the descriptions of the pastoral experience and domestic life of the clergy[11]. In the materials on the activity, of the fraternities we can find information on the establishment, on their basis, of schools and “the fraternal trade asylum” in Kamyanets’-Podilsky (1867)[12]. These data have ethnographic significance as well. They mention the number of pupils; trade specializations taught to the boys (carpentry, wood-carving, drawing, shoe-making etc.) and to the girls (embroidery); the demand and the profit from the things produced by the skilled craftsmen and the apprentices[13].

Many materials in the “PDN” are dedicated to the subject of the relationship between denominations nations and social groups, on the level of the hierarchical administration and the ruling circles, and between the representatives of the common people as well. A large part of these publications is constituted by the information on the relations between the Ukrainian peasantry, the Orthodox Church and the Jewish people[14]. The relationship between various social groups of Podillya was reflected in the folk verbal art and was recorded by researches[15]. They are of direct ethnographic significance, as they give the possibility to realize and estimate the ethnographic situation in Podillya, expose the position of the world outlook, the mentality, the traditional law of the people; make us realize why such complicated relations were established between the Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish people in the past and understand the reason of the present ethnic conflicts in the country.

Within the period of 44 years of “PDN” publications, 100 large articles appeared (disregarding smaller paragraphs and report), connected with the spiritual culture of the people. They compose the bigger half of the ethnographic reports. These articles were dedicated to the calendar and wedding rites, the knowledge of the people, the faith and beliefs, superstitions, the world outlook and their peculiarities among the Podollians.

The appearance of research works on the spiritual culture of the people was encouraged by the publications of the programmes for collecting information about folk superstitions, beliefs, dialects, traditional laws etc in the “PDN” etc[16].

Doing statistic estimation of the period of 1862 – 1905 we can find: 54 articles on calendar rites; 20 publications on family rites; 36 publications that concern the knowledge, faith, superstitions and the world outlook of the people.

As is seen, the majority of the research works are devoted to the calendar rites of the people. Thus, there were articles about Christmas celebrations[17], Easter[18], the Holy Meeting[19], “Easter in Rakhman”[20], the December holidays of St. Katherine[21], Andrew[22], St. Nicholas[23], as well as the Ivan Kupala holiday[24], the Petrivsky fast and the holiday of “Rozpra” on its first day[25], the day of Sts. Panthelemon[26], Vlas[27], Kosma and Demian[28], George[29], Paraskova-Pyatnytsia[30] etc.

Considering the contents of the articles we can see that apart from the detailed description of the way the Podollians celebrated the calendar holidays, the authors give historic facts about the way our ancestors celebrated them in the past; interpret the Christian basis of this or that holiday, elucidate the pagan conception, the mythical

basis of the calendar holidays and its reflection in the rituals, symbols, beliefs, legends and religious views of the people.

Most of all the attention of the researches was attracted by Christmas (18 articles) and Easter holidays (16 articles). As we can observe in the publications, propagating the revival and preserving of ancient Easter and Christmas traditions, the church carefully selected the elements of folk rites and folk lore, which were necessary, denying and disregarding all the rest. Unfortunately, standing on these grounds, the clergy paid little attention to the study of folk customs, rites, folk lore at first, if the latter did not correspond to the church canons, did not have religious contents and were according to a number of ethnographers and researches who were also clergymen "the product of the original weird imagination" of the people[31]. Thus, as far as the folk Christmas tradition of Kolyaduvannya which had been long opposed by the church and folk carols kolyadkas, which for the clergy were just "a pile of strange words which hardly make any sense", where "the events of the holy history were confused and mixed up"[32].

Yet, some time later there appeared publications defending the folk lore as the bearer of history. Studying the kolyadkas, shchedrivkas, spring songs we can trace the result of imposing of Catholicism, the Polish language, repressions of the Ukrainian song folk lore and substituting them with Catholic and union church songs, which were performed by the Ukrainian people in "bad Polish"[33]. Paradoxical, as it is, in the middle of the 19th century the Podollian knew more "master's kolyadas" (in Polish) than their native, "common"[34] ones, according to the researches.

As the kolyadka, the folk spring song did not bear any religious meaning, but yet it became a means of propagating Catholicism and Polish ways to the Ukrainians. The spring songs were replaced by Polish songs or spoilt because of using "Polish accent", which is mentioned by the researches of the land's folk lore[35].

Quite a number of "PDN" publications concerned family celebrations and traditions: the birth and christening[36]; wedding[37]; funeral rites, commemorative feasts[38]. The description of each of them was given together with historic commentary, legends, beliefs; pieces of the priests advice, their instructions (the authors of the publications) as to the harmful influence some tradition on the people (for example, the custom of "mohorych"[39], the wedding tradition of "going a lease"[40]).

The majority of the publications on the family traditional rites concerned the funeral and commemoration customs, the people's concepts and legends about the extra-mundane world, death as the destiny of a man, transition from the mundane to the eternal life. The authors did not only give a detailed description of the rites, but also sought their historic roots, compared the mythological conception of Ukrainians with those of the neighbouring Christian and Moslem folks. Many research works on this problem were written by E.Sitsinsky when he was a student of the seminary. A whole cycle of article on the family rites (from the birth to the death of a man) belongs to the research ethnographer P.Lanevsky.

As a separate trend in the publications on the spiritual culture we can single out the knowledge, beliefs, superstitions, concepts of the people. According to the publications, Podillya had had folk medicine since long ago, which treated not only physical illnesses but those of "the soul" too. Folk doctors, using various methods, charmed any kind of an illness[41], relieved a man from a "curse"[42], "wicked eye"[43].

The researchers of this problem point it out, that the people knew not only kind powers of the folk charmers but also about the "dark magic" powers (witches, magicians, demons) and the ways of fighting them[44]. A considerable part of the people's knowledge and beliefs is connected with the year calendar, the moon, the days of the week and their influence of the health, the well-being and even the life of a man[45]. Many beliefs and rituals appeared as a result of "confusing" folk and Christian background (for example, for the charming and fortune telling the Gospel the cross, incense and blessed water etc are used)[46]. Many of the general conceptions and beliefs have lost their initial meaning in the course of the long history, yet they continued to be kept to[47] and the violation of those was considered to be a sin and was severely judged by the people (as, for example, cutting the hair of women which became fashionable in 19th century[48]).

So, as w can see, even such a short statistic survey of the materials about the culture of traditions and domestic life of Podollians published in the "PDN" within 44 years enables us to appreciate the great self-sacrificing work of the ethnographers, local lore experts, the clergy, the amateurs and enthusiasts. They collected varied factual field material, which is, undoubtedly, of scientific significance to the ethnography of the land as well as to the country in general. Its study will make it possible to fill the gaps in the knowledge about the spiritual and material culture of Podillya, to interpret the conceptional positions of the people, their mentality, traditional law and the influence of these substances on the conflict between the representatives of different ethnic, denominational and social groups in the past and in the present.

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“ПОДІЛЬСЬКІ ЄПАРХІАЛЬНІ ВІДОМОСТІ” ПРО ТРАДИЦІЙНУ КУЛЬТУРУ ПОДОЛЯН В ДРУГІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ XIX – НА ПОЧАТКУ XX СТОЛІТТЯ

Вагомий внесок у становлення етнографії Поділля зробив Подільський єпархіальний історико-статистичний комітет, який на сторінках “Подільських єпархіальних відомостей” публікував дослідження з традиційно-побутової культури населення краю. За сорок чотири роки свого існування він видав близько 200-т етнографічних матіріалів. Таким чином, з діяльністю комітету та видавництвом “Подільських єпархіальних відомостей” пов’язаний більш планомірний, систематичний характер історико-етнографічного вивчення краю; поява відомих постатей етнографів, краєзнавців Поділля.

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Kyiv

THE ETHNIC HISTORY OF THE GREEKS OF MARIUPOL': PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The Greeks of Mariupol' living on the Azov area of Ukraine take their roots from the town they founded. In the year of 1778 the Christian Greeks of the Crimean Khanate moved on to the territory of Mariupol' district of Ekaterinoslav province. They were headed by Metropolitan Ignatiy, the initiator of the migration. Having abandoned their prosperous Crimea, 18 thousand Greeks obtained an administrative and religious autonomy in the Azov area. Nowadays the number of Greeks living in Donetsk region run third in its ethnic structure (1,6 %). According to the population roll of 1989 the number of Greeks equaled 98 thousand people[1], but according to the population roll of 2001 the number decreased to 92,6 thousand people[2] due to migrations to Greece.

The scientific interest lies in the fact that over a long period of time the Greeks have preserved their culture, traditions and language while being a constituent of various ethnic and social systems such as the Byzantine and the Osmanic Empires. Besides, another ethnic environment hasn't affected the transformation of their selfconsciousness badly. The investigation of the ethnic processes that take place among the Greeks of the Azov area make it possible to typify the most complicated phenomena in the international interactions and in the intensity of the national and the cultural identity.

Several stages of the ethnic history of the Greeks of Mariupol' have been described in various reviews and research works, but still there are a lot of aspects that require a complex investigation.

There is no unified picture of the ethnic history thus far. The majority of research works are aimed at investigation of ethnic and historical phenomena in the Crimean and the Azov periods. In fact, the pre-Crimean history of the Greeks of Mariupol' and the current condition of the Greek Diaspora in the Azov area remain under investigated.

The term "The Greeks of Mariupol'" unites the two following ethnic entities: the Roomies whose language is divided into five dialects referred to the Greek group of the Indo-European language family[3], and the Aurums, who speak four dialects of the Turkish group of the Altaic language family[4]. The both call themselves Greeks, but each group separated itself from the other. Nor did it maintain relations with the other one till the early 20th century, though they both had a common language for communication – Tatar. The Roomies settled down apart from the Aurums in the Crimea and the Azov area. They didn't perform any marriages and had different ethnonyms. But their confessional adherence to Orthodoxy is one of the main criteria of their being Greek. The investigations of the current condition of the Greek Diaspora is an evidence to the above-mentioned phenomena being rife nowadays[5].

Here a question arises: why do the Aurums and the Roomies speak different languages? Is it a consequence of their once being neighbors of the Crimean Tatars or an evidence to the fact that they moved on to the Crimea from different territories and at a different time? The materials available at present are in no condition to answer the questions asked. To have plosible hypothesis of the origin of the Greeks of Mariupol' created, complex investigations on the basis of a possible historic and ethnographical material sharply bound to a certain territory and certain historical events are to be carried out. For the ethnic history to be highlighted, it's necessary to tackle a set of research trends. In the set under consideration the linguistic, anthropological and cultural data alongside the Greeks illiteracy are of great interest. No doubt, the areal investigation of the ethnic processes on the coasts of the Black and the Mediterranean Seas are imperative. Moreover they should go beyond the investigations of the Greeks themselves. It could result in finding out of cultural isoglosses, lines on the geographical map, that could show the territorial spreading of a certain ethnic phenomenon.

Nowadays the investigation of practically all the aspects of ethnology of the Azov area Greeks are aimed at the objects and forms of expression. The emphasis is laid on description and systematization, rather then on the semantics of the material and spiritual culture. As a matter of fact, the lack of interdisciplinary investigation principle or any comparative studies bring about a unilateral character of the existing research works. As far as

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the historical concepts, the ethnic history of the Greeks of Mariupol' is linked with the peoples of Balkan, Asia Minor, the Crimea, and the Azov area. Therefore it's advisable to start to investigate the materials available with the linguistic data. The language is considered to be one of the most important attributes of the ethnic integrity.

The fact of the Roomies and the Aurums using different languages is not yet an evidence to their being different nations. Nor does the spoken language make different groups of people automatically belong to one ethnos.

The dialects of the Azov area Greeks are the best investigated theme. Nowadays there are well many research works concerned with the comparative analysis of the Roomies' and the Aurums' dialects. But the structural resemblances of the Azov Greeks' languages to the languages of the Greeks of the Balkan, the Pontic Greeks and the Greeks of Asia minor are not under the investigation. The Greeks of Mariupol' are bilingual and speak their mother tongue mainly in everyday life. Multiple attempts of Greek intelligentsia to revive their language and to develop the Greek literature are not a success thus far[6]. The decrease of the population is undoubtedly caused by the ethnic assimilation, but the latest population roll reveals a decrease in ethnic consciousness as well, which couldn't but be affected by the state policy of the 20th century aimed at hellinization and study of the modern Greek language that is in turn not the Azov area Greeks mother tongue. Distraction of the Greek population from learning their mother tongue has entailed the loss of their dialects and destruction of the ethnic self-consciousness.

The reconstruction of the facts which could influence the formation of the Aurums and the Roomies is to be linked to the territories the Greek ethnic groups inhabited in different periods of their existence. In fact the ethnic processes in the Crimea and the Asian Minor various problems of the Greek of Mariupol''s history is inseparably connected with are not investigated. These areas are a classical example of the complicated bond of ethnic, political, social, economic and cultural phenomena. Being at the crossroads of trade ways and the bridge between Europe and Asia, the areas have absorbed the phenomena of the East and the West. Therefore the ethnic history can be highlighted only if the forms of interaction, enrichment and correlation on the interdisciplinary level are worked out. Let's give it and try to find out about the missing links important to the ethnic history along with periodization that would reflect the qualitative changes of the major characteristics of the ethnos.

It is the nation's origin that is one of the most complicated and important aspects of the ethnic history. In this respect there is no grounded theory of the Greeks of Mariupol' origin nowadays that could take their split into the two ethnic groups, the Roomies (the Hellinophones) and the Aurums (the Turkophones) into consideration. This fact was first discovered by the researchers of the late 20th century V.I.Grigorovitch[7] and F.Braun[8]. The former referred the Aurums to the Alans and the latter referred to the Goths. The hypothesis of the Aurums' Turkish origin was put forward by I.A.Korelov[9] and A.N.Garkavets[10]. But the majority of the investigators of the 20th century, such as A.A.Bertje – Delagar[11], A.I.Markevitch[12], I.I.Sokolov[13] and M.Aradzhioni[14] adheres to the hypothesis of the ethnic entity and the same origin roots of the Aurums and the Roomies. The scholars' inability to carry out a critical analysis of many key moments in the Azov Greeks history is caused by the selective use of the sources and lack of the complex approach. It is possible to answer the question of origin only if various sources and literature are investigated.

The investigation of the early stage of the Azov Greeks' ethnic history have always caused various difficulties to emerge. The data of anthropology can prove to be one of the few sources that make it possible to approach a solution of a problem. It is here that the anthropological materials enjoy a sort of dominance over the sources of other types. The data of anthropology make it possible to confirm the hypotheses that highlight the problem of the Greeks' split according to the language principle. Or it may be caused by their once being neighbors of the Crimean Tatars. Or the linguistic distinctions between the Aurums and the Roomies can be explained by the fact that they came to the Crimea from different territories and at a different time. It is difficult to make conclusions at the present stage of investigation because of scarcity of the anthropological characteristics of the Azov area Greeks.

In the 1950s – 1960s the investigation of the Greek population of the Azov area was carried out by the Ukrainian anthropologist V.D.Dyachenko[15] and the Greek anthropologist A.N.Poulanos[16]. The investigation was held in two Greek villages, therefore no sure conclusions of the distinctions between the Aurums and the Roomies were able to be found. Only nowadays an opportunity of a profound investigation of the Greeks' anthropology has emerged. Over the year of 2002 the Aurumian and Roomiean villages were investigated by S.P.Segeda. The program of the anthropological investigation included odonthological and dermathoglifical methods that make it possible to determine the degree of resemblance and distinctions between the representatives of the two ethnic groups on the basis of a set of relevant features. As a result of the expedition work catalogues of anthropotypes of the Greeks of Mariupol' at their residence (more than one thousand phenotypes) are compiled. The data gathered have started to be processed and preparation for the following stages of the anthropological investigation is continued.

By way of summing up the materials of the first stage, the ethnogenetic connections of the Azov area Greeks

can be traced. Taking into consideration the corporal appearance of the Greeks of Mariupol', it is notworthy that they are bound anthropologically with the population of the Balkan and the preseldzhukian and preorsmanic population of Asia Minor on the one hand, and with the so-called brand new elements oguzo-turkish or oriental elements on the other hand. Over all the both groups belong to the South European type of the European race. The traits of Mediterranean, Minor Asian and Oriental anthropological type are present.

A great expedition work aimed at selection of the ethnographical material is being carried out nowadays in Mariupol' Institute of Humanities. The research is aimed at the current condition of the Azov area Greeks. The research was in particular targeted at investigation of ethnonyms spread among the Greek population, such as the Greeks, the Hellens, the Roomies, the Aurums, the Tats and the Bazariots. The investigation by the philologist E.I.Nazariev[18] who accentuates the semantics and traces the isoglosses of ethnonyms is of great interest. It significally widened the range of opportunities of modeling the ethnogenetic connections. With reference to the spreading of the term "Tats" which is used by the Azov area Greeks one can draw the isogloss as follows: the Iranian (Asia) — the Turks (Asia and Asia Minor) — the Osmanic Turks (Asian Minor) — the Tatars (the Crimean Peninsula) — the Greeks (the Crimea and the Azov area).

No doubt, the traditional culture study and its modern state are closely connected with the ethnical processes. For the ethnical history study the traditional culture is a kind of the mirror, which reflects the ethnohistorical phenomena. This material can be considered as the basic one. But this trend researches mainly fixed and described the material and spiritual culture of the Greeks of the Azov area without practically any comparison and distinction of the Aurumian and the Roomiean Cultures. The exception is made for I.V.Ivanova's works where the author fragmentary correlates the cultural phenomena with the analogous phenomena existing on the Minor Asia, the Trans Caucasus and the Balkan territories. The common life and cultural features were formed in the both groups as a result of their lasting existence in the borders of the Osmanic Empire and the Azov area. These features can especially be traced in the material culture facts dwellings, clothes, food) with the oriental influence prevailing[19]. Here we can trace the features common to those of the Tatar, the Osmanic, the Greek traditional cultures. But it's also possible to sketch the separate areals due to the groups of features which testify the ethnogenetic and ethnocultural relationship of some peoples of these areas.

The Aurumian and the Roomiean folklore is rich in its contents and diverse in its genres. It is a matter of scientific interest for a wide range of scholars. All the more that it's only the folklore samples that have been fixed by now. Though some research works distinguish between the epic and song genres of the Aurums and the Roomies due to their completely different genetic roots. S.I.Markov considers the Aurumian folklore as a superficial character and correlates it with the oriental character[20]. A.N.Garkovets, who studies the Aurumian dialects draws attention to their folklore speech which has the Turkish-Osmanic base. In the way of summing up we can say that the Osman traditional poetry has influenced the Crimean Tatar song art[21]. Hence is the answer to the question – Why are lots of the Roomiean historical songs so incomprehensible? – The majority of these songs are borrowed from the Tatar language. Therefore the language of the Osman poetry as a constituent of the Tatar folklore is completely incomprehensive for the hellinophones. Such phenomenon isn't observed in the Aurumian folklore as the Osman language is close and plain for the Aurums.

Being a source of the ethnic history, the calendar rituals are the versatile and many-layered phenomenon which comprises the compressed facts of different historical epochs and ethnocultures. In the Aurumian and Roomiean folklore some temporal periods are personified, holidays being the important part of them. Besides Saint George the particular respect is shown to saint Foydor, Triphon, Harlampiy, Stratilat, Konstantin, Panteleimon, who are little known among the Slavs. Though these holidays belong to those celebrated by the Christian Church, they have the ancient Greek root and in the remote past they were called as "eorte" or "urti" and 'jorti" in the Greeks of Mariupol' pronunciation. They took their names in the ancient Hellada and were devoted to the most-honored gods. "Jorti" B celebration is obligatory bound to "panair" celebration; "panair" being a patronal festival which comprises the elements of the pagancy and the Christianity. It includes such stages as a vow, a sacrifice, a collective meal, a public prayer and sport competitions[22]. So, the holiday brought by the Greeks from the Crimea is a classical ethnocultural interlace. In the whole it should be noted that the Balkan Greece influence is oftener manifested in the calendar rituality than the influence of the East.

As seen from the above mentioned examples, one of the Greeks of Mariupol' development peculiarities is the influence of the direct participation of Algean World in the closest connection with the peoples of the Asia. Therefore the Crimean – Minor Asian and the Balkan regions are definitely to be in the sphere of the scientific interests of those who study the ethnic history of the Greeks of Mariupol'. It is only areal research work of the enumerated scientific trends that can answer a lot of questions.

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Київ

ЕТНІЧНА ІСТОРІЯ МАРІУПОЛЬСЬКИХ ГРЕКІВ: ПРОБЛЕМИ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

Стаття присвячена проблемам етнічної історії маріупольських греків. На сьогоднішній день не існує обґрунтованих теорій їх походження та поділу на етнічні групи – румеїв (еллінофонів) і румеїв (тюркофонів). Ці питання можливо вирішити тільки за допомогою ареальних етноісторичних досліджень в Кримсько-Малоазійському та Балканському регіонах.

Frank GRELKA
Bochum

THE FORMATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES AND NATIONALISM: IMMIGRANTS FROM UKRAINE IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (1870 – 1914)

The immigration of Ukrainian people from their home country to North America both caused and resulted in the formation of cultural identities and nationalism. Although not demanding a territorial state of their own, people from Ukraine were simultaneously striving for the autonomy of their various traditions and, in particular, their indigenous languages.

From 1870 until the beginning of the First World War, more than a half million people belonging to the Ruthenian ethnicity immigrated from Ukraine to Canada and the United States and, almost all have been assimilated becoming Ukrainian-Canadians and Ukrainian-Americans[1]. Seeking to establish new identity, these people formed nationalism that was suppressed (or tolerated) by governments of their new homeland which sought to Americanize or Russify them in the name of national destiny[2]. Ukrainians, however, considered the formation of nationalism as their right as well as the destiny of their people.

Viewing the immigration of Ukrainians to North America as an important factor in the development of Ukrainian nationalism, this paper focuses on the formation of various cultural identities and nationalism of Ukrainian immigrants in the "New World".

The following questions will be considered: 1) were the 'Ruthenians' capable of developing their own tradition, beliefs and languages vis-à-vis the North-American culture?; 2) did the awakened in the mid-nineteenth century Ukrainian self-consciousness, experience a renaissance or will it assimilated to the North American culture?; 3) did the first Ukrainian immigration from Galychyna (Galicia) in 1870 – 1914 develop any identities other than that of 'local peasantry'?

When immigrants relate the circumstances that made them leave their homeland, their stories reveal the organization of their lives with respect to family, neighbourhood, region, nation and religion. Moreover, immigrants and their experiences make apparent the tensions between individuals and nation states. They attest to the mobility of nation states, assimilated and meet their residents'.

The recollections of the Ukrainian immigrant William Andrew (Vasyl' Andrii) Czumer to Canada and the publications by western historians of Ukrainian descent provide insight into the everyday life of an Ukrainian immigrant before Word War I.

According to the Russian Empires census of 1897, 93 % of the so called "Little Russian" population within the Russian empire were peasants. 57 % of them were poor peasants, and 30 % belonged to middle-class peasantry.

Without industralization, urbanization and some cultural freedom, nation building and the formation of identity would have been impossible[3]. The contemporary *risorgimento nationalism* was a movement absolutely unknown

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to the peasantry. Loyal to the Tsar, fear of God, dread of the 25 year military service and of being uprooted from the village community (*mir*), the Ruthenian peasant all contributed to the estrangement from his home country[4]. Similarly social and economic sconditions in Ukrainian lands under Austrian rule degraded Ruthenians to a poor, peasant minority. The Ruthenian elite of Galychyna had already assimilated with the Polish nobles in the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16th and 17th century. As in Russia, Ruthenians in Austria-Hungary were rarely represented in the cities. In 1902, 95% of the Ruthenian population was peasant and of them 80 % was poor peasantry. A middle-class did not exist among the Ruthenians, the intelligentsia was formed by a numerous gentry[5].

The illiteracy rate in Western Ukraine was high just as in Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire: 90 % of Ruthenians were not able to read or write. The peasant from Galychyna, no matter whether he or she was of Polish or Ruthenian descent did posses an ethnical consciousness. However he or she was not so much as aware of two main components associated with the formation of a separate ethnical consciousness – language and tradition[6]. The Ruthenian peasantry under both autocracies, the Russian and the Austrian, was estranged from its Ruthenian heritage and largely subject to all forms of assimilation.

Emigrating as "Little Russians" and "Ruthenians"

The first Ruthenian immigrants are recorded in the U.S. census of 1790[7], but Ruthenian names occur in records even earlier[8]. However historically 'first immigration' of Ruthenians to North America is dated to the year 1870.

The great majority of these immigrants to the U.S. and to Canada[9], immigrated from Austrian-Hungarian territories with a Ruthenian population: 85 % of the Ruthenians immigrated from the provinces of Bukovyna ('Carpatho Ruthenia'), and from Galychyna and the remaining 15 % came from the districts (guberniyas): Volhynia, Podolia, Kyiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, and Kherson.

In the beginning, immigrants from Ukraine called themselves 'Rusyn', 'Ruthenians', or 'Little Russians' – reflecting Ukrainian self-perception as the "product of the colonial consciousness". This 'Little Russian' – mentality was responsible for their unwillingness to identify themselves as Ukrainian or to display sentiments of Ukrainian nationalism[10].

Being aware of their contradictory identity, many Ruthenian immigrants from Habsburg territories adopted the name, "Ukrainian" later on, in order to indicate that their national awareness and national aspirations as well as their native tongue were censored in the occupied Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire.

On the other hand, as is quite common among immigrants whose nation state had not yet come into existence, most of the Ruthenian immigrants defined themselves with the provincial regions in Europe from which they came from – like Germany, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

The economic hardship and exploitation in late feudal structures of industrially underdeveloped Galychyna made Ukrainians leave their home country for North America. This occurred before the official abolishing of serfdom in Austria in 1848, and in Ukrainian lands under the Russian empire in 1861. The peasants learned about countries in the so-called New World, which promised freedom and as land of plenty[11].

There are in fact seven reasons for Ruthenian immigration: 1. the population explosion between 1880 and 1900 (80 % increase); 2. the lack of industrialization to provide greater employment; 3. the agrarian system and splitting of farming land into small pieces; 4. growing peasant indebtedness (due to excessive taxation) resulting in a feeling of hopelessness; 5. the prospect of the 'quick dollar' overseas; 6. the stimulation of shipping line agents and representatives of American corporate concerns in search of new labour pools for the expanding U.S. industrial complex; 7. letters and money from immigrant families telling about the opportunities abroad[12].

Mykhailo Stests'ko from the village of Strilkvisti, Borshchiv region, Galychyna, is a good example for an illiterate Ruthenian peasant, working on a landlord's estate and being aware of his possibility to escape from lord and the manor: "Mendel wanted us to work like oxen. I was married and we had three children. We had a small cottage and a piece of garden. My father didn't leave me any property when he died because he too had worked all his life at the manor […] The landlord was sitting on the veranda, smoking a long-stemmed pipe. […] I walked up to him and kissed his hand. That was the custom. Peasants kissed the hand of the landlord and the priest. […] "I came to tell you, sir, that I want to emigrate to Canada." […] "You're tired of serving on the manor, eh Mykhailo?" "No, I'm not tired of it, sir, and if worked for you alone, I'd work and stay on the estate till death, but to work for Mendel – honest to God, I can't. I want to go to Canada and be my own master there. […] In Borshchiv I found the bank, walked in and handed the note from landlord Khodorovsky. The cashier looked over it, verified the landlord's signature and told me to sign on the reverse side. I blushed and told him that I couldn't write. He then called another clerk who signed my name and told me to make a cross. This was the first time in my life that I signed my name with a cross and the first time in my thirty-one years that I owned a hundred crowns. In Canada I've made many crosses and since then have learned what a cheque is"[13].

Beginning with the eighties of the nineteenth century, an organized emigration took place. Attracted by land

offers, twenty-four to thirty thousand impoverished peasants of the Eastern Galychyna region immigrated to Brazil. In September 1891, two peasants from the village of Nebyliv in Galychyna, Ivan Pillipiw and Vasyl' Eleniak became the first documented Ruthenians to Canada[14]. The following is an excerpt from the story of one Ruthenian called Ivan Pyllipiw, age thirty-two, married, father of three children, Greek Catholic, farmer: "Last year, 1891, I sold part of my land and after having paid my debts I had 156 crowns and 50 cents left. With this money I went to America […]. We rode to Calgary because there was no railway from Edmonton yet. We made our way to Greenfields. There was land everywhere; land wherever you went, all empty. Just take a plough and start ploughing. Not like in the Old Country, where people worked small, narrow strips or didn't even have a bit of garden. […] There was enough to drink and to eat. We spoke with the older people in our own language, but the young ones already knew English. They told us how hard it was in the beginning – for three, four years it was hard but once they established themselves, things got better"[15].

Between 1870 and the beginning of World War I, 600,000 Ruthenians left the Habsburg empire for North and South America.

About 400,000 of them immigrated to the United States[16], and 150,000 primarily for a agricultural settlement in Canada. The most impoverished Galychyna peasants (about 50,000) managed to get to Argentina and Brazil.

In earlier days, immigrants came as cheap labor with European and American steamships and fleeing from service in the Austro-Hungarian Army[17]; but the economic reasons for their immigration remained predominant at least until World War II. In this context, several tens of thousands of single men and women were sent to Canada by their families simply to earn money and to send it home[18].

The Austro-Hungarian government was not content with the immigration at all[19]. Concerned about shortage of cheap labour, the Empire blamed the "Exodus of Transcarpathians" for the agricultural crisis in Hungary; on the other hand there was the positive impact on the Galician peasant economy caused by the overseas-earnings sent back to the home country.

The Ukrainian intelligentsia, as the defender of an Ruthenian identity at home, held different views about the immigration issue. While the clergy was concerned about a reduced population that would threaten the Ukrainian group in Galychyna, the Radicals legitimized immigration as a salvation for the peasant.

The prototype of the Ruthenian immigrant from to Canada was young, had only some rudimentary education, rarely any political understanding of the constitutional system of Austro-Hungary, spoke or/and understood some Polish and German, and was seeking the quarter section of 160 acres of land for a $10 fee as offered by the Canadian homestead policy. The majority of them settled in the prairies of southern Manitoba east of Edmonton[20]. The first real colony of Ruthenians in Manitoba started in 1896, however, already in the next two years the number of close Ruthenian communities increased. They settled in communities to provide each other with material and psychological support in the unfamiliar and inhospitable lands[21].

Following the fates of the early immigrants, the second problem beneath the extreme poverty was the language barrier[22].

In contrast to the Ukrainian agricultural settlement in Canada, immigrants of Ruthenian descent to the U.S. settled from the beginning in the industrial cities of the Northeast – and until today 90 per cent of them inhabit the urban regions of the Northeast. They arrived after an economic crisis within in a period of industrial growth.

The minority of Ruthenians settled in the countryside. Before 1914, there existed farm communities with their own churches in Michigan, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Virginia, Georgia, Texas, and Hawaii. By 1936, 36 rural communities with 26,000 Ruthenian population were counted. U.S. statistics show that of 147,375 Ruthenian immigrants to the States between 1899 and 1910, 128,460 claimed to have had some former employment. The overwhelming majority among the immigrants to Canada (97,2 %), had been peasants, unskilled labours, or servants; only 2 % claimed to be a skilled worker and 0,08 % (109 Ukrainian immigrants) said that they used to be professionals or businessmen in their home country[23]. The situation of the peasant after his arrival on the American continent seemed altogether not to be better than their situation in the Old World. What remained and what linked the Ruthenians was their common hope for a new future and their deep faith in their God-given fate. As William Czumer states, ethnic awareness was simply unknown to the first Ruthenian peasant arriving in the U.S., though their common language and national and religious traditions bound them together[24].

According to Procko's study almost none of the early immigrants from Galychyna or Transcarpathia were able to reply to the immigration officials, whose job it was to place all the immigrants in a national identity category, either about their Ukrainian or their Ruthenian origins. This is why they merely became Austrians or Hungarians in the immigration records.

There is no doubt the 'first immigrants' were quickly aware of their shared culture. The church and the traditions of religious life were factors of integration, at least for the Ruthenians in the Austro-Hungarian empire yet meant an integrating factor[25]. However, instead of forming their all-Ruthenian-immigrants' national identity, they separated into different churches. Since then, the church played the leading role in religious patriotism, but rather

separated[26] than united the Ruthenian matter in the U.S. Another example is the consciousness of peasants who came to Canada as Ruthenian-Galician Greek Catholics (the overwhelming majority) or Ruthenian-Bukovynian Orthodox renaming themselves Ukrainian Catholics or Ukrainian Orthodox or Russian Orthodox[27].

These different identities correspond with three different emancipation processes of the Ruthenian American in general: The forming of an ethno-national Ukrainian identity (ca. 40 % of the Ruthenians), of an Carpatho-Ruthenian (ca. 40 per cent), but among the Orthodox Church also a Russian identity (ca. 20 % concerned)[28]. Nevertheless, it was this very shared religious culture which formed the common ground for the next two emancipation steps on the way up from the 'local' peasant-identity to a more significant identity: education and language.

Immigrations flowed so quickly into Western Canada that the provincial departments of education were not able to find enough qualified teachers. Other populations who came to Canada in an organized manner, had however many teachers with a background of higher education. From 1910 on, schools tended to be more organized.

The poor education of the Ruthenian peasant fostered discrimination against them. They were compared with Native Americans, because of being the poorest coming to Canada and not knowing the English language[29]. Though in theory already with the Public School Act of 1897, bilingual education in English and Ukrainian language had been established. The government of Manitoba by advise of the élite of the intellectual immigrants opened a three-year-program for young, intelligent, secondary educated Ruthenians in Winnipeg in order to educate them to become teachers.

The motif for the subconsequent rise of the educational organizations in Canada were parents, who saw that their children would not have a future unless they would be properly educated.

By the end of 1907, twenty-eight Ukrainian-English teachers graduated in Winnipeg. The first Ukrainian-English teachers, among them William A.Czumer from the so-called 'School for foreigners', were not only fine instructors, but simultaneously leaders in the Ukrainian settlement of Western Canada, who worked either with educated and non-educated[30].

Emancipation of American and Canadian citizens and ethnonational Ukrainians[31]

A small group called *narodovtsi* (populists) or *Drahomanivtsi* had been the most prominent promoters of the formation of an Ukrainian identity in Canada. Their hope for progress in the everyday life of Ruthenian immigrants was education and national awareness on a 'bread-and-butter-basis'[32]. Under the leadership of the editor T.D. Ferley they spread Ukrainian messages in reading clubs, during lectures, plays, concerts and all kinds of entertainment, Czumer remembers[33]. Due to a proper command of English and public school education for the children, the general awareness of becoming a citizen of Canada was raise among the Ruthenian immigrants.

Fereley became aware of doing something for Canada when clearing the land of bush, pulling stumps and roots from the ground, building roads, farms, public buildings, schools, towns and villages. They became more and more interested in their new home country and in the politics of Canada. On the other hand, the Canadian politics revealed this ethnic minority as voters and taxpayers. What the Canadian politicians had not expected was the enormous awareness of their constitutional rights. It was on 20 August 1913 when the Canadian minister of education, J.R.Boyle, shocked the Ruthenian community in Canada, announcing the 'Control of Ruthenian schools'. The "Galicians", according to Boyle, would continue to keep their children from attending public schools, blamed Ukrainian English teachers for 'political instigation's and published a law with the title 'Strong measure are necessary'[34]. The context behind this conflict was that Boyle did only send English-speaking-teachers, so that no Ruthenian child would make progress in learning. The pro-Boyle press moreover accused the native "Ukrainian (English – *F.G.*) teachers' of separatism: "These Ruthenians teachers have only one idea, and that is to instruct the children and parents that as they were persecuted in Galicia by Polaks, in Russia by Russians, so they are persecuted in Canada by English fanatics; at election time their idea is to work against the Government.

We all saw teachers Czumer, Sytnik, Bozik, Mykytiuk, etc., on the platforms at Vegreville and Mundare talking to the people and telling them that 'the rule of the English cowboy is finished; we are now in charge; we are a nation able to govern our own matters, and so on"[35].

Aware of their ethnic Ukrainian identity (calling themselves no longer 'Ruthenians') and aware of their rights were two aspects which guaranteed them a status as Canadian citizens and taxpayers by the democratic Canadian constitution. The Ukrainian English teachers defined themselves different from the Canadian government in order to win over the Ruthenian community for the building of a conscious Ukrainian movement[36]. The new possibilities for a Ukrainian consciousness in a democratic country is well expressed by the resolution of the Ukrainians of Edmonton forwarded to the premier's deputy. Hereby, the Ukrainians protest against provocative actions that would have taken by Minister Boyle. Boyle, in his dislike of everything Ukrainian, insulted publicly all Ukrainians and their language by publishing at public expense a translation of the School Act in Russian language: "It is the language of traitors and renegades, used exclusively by provocateurs and paid agents of the

Russian government to disseminate the glorification of the tsar among the Ukrainians and to support the lie that there is no such thing as a Ukrainian nation, but only 'Little Russians' who speak a Russian dialect. 4. We declare that we will not tolerate further provocation from the Department of Edmonton until we are shown respect for our language and our civil liberties"[37].

In the U.S., the ethnic Ukrainian community finished its emancipation process already around 1894. This was because of the earlier immigration to the U.S. as well as the industrial context (daily-life and strikes in concurrence with other ethnic minorities etc.) in the Pittsburgh steel mills that favoured the identification process, at least more than the agricultural idyll of Alberta and Manitoba could. With refer to the model of Jan Molenda, the Ruthenians peasant in Canada had only reached the first stage of consciousness until World War I, including their attachment to the native language, religion, land, and folk culture of the region. Instructed by teachers and priests the immigrants had gained an awareness of one's ethnical separateness, here of the Ruthenian peasant's and his children as belonging to the Ukrainian traditions. Whereas the Ruthenian peasant who immigrated to the United States was aware of this heritage already in the last years of the 19th century. Regarding that what Molenda[38] calls the second stage and applying it to the condition of the first generation, means the realization of the immigrants' existence in a democratic society as well as the desire and challenge of realizing this society as their very own.

In 1894 Ukrainian priests from Galicia formed in Shanokin, Pennsylvania, under the leadership of priest and editor Hrushka the Ukrainian National Association (Ruskyi Narodnyi Soiuz – "UNA"). Already on 1 November 1893, Father Hrushka published in *Svoboda* an article entitled 'We need a National Organization' with a clear appeal to the Ruthenians for an national awaking within a national Ruthenian organization[39]. In 1894 the UNA had 439 members, by 1912 there were already 14 917 members . Moreover, between 1895 and 1907 the UNA became a strong vehicle of Americanization, Ukrainization, and political action in the Ukrainian ethnonational camp[40]. At hand of the slogans "Let's Americanize" and "Let's be critical of that which is bad in America but by all means let's take advantage of that which is good", the UNA-organ tried to Americanize the Ruthenians from American Ruthenians ("It is clear that we are Americans because we live on American soil, we eat American bread") to Ukrainian-Americans[41].

The adoption of the American or the Canadian identity was for the Ruthenian peasant far more matter-of-course than the formation of a Ukrainian ethnic identity. Above all, there was the adoption of a citizenship. Because of the United States and Canada, and not due to either a not even existing Ukrainian State nor an abstract Ukrainian consciousness, which guaranteed the immigrants their welfare.

In North America, the former manor peasant became a farmer with at least 10 ha land. In other words, he emerged from serfdom to ownership. Around the 1910 U.S. census,the UNA gazette urged its readers to indicate that they spoke the 'Ruthenian language'. The national-progressive identity 'to be an Ukrainian' in contrast of the passive existence as a Ruthenian became increasingly popular among the immigrants from the Ukrainian lands. Indeed, the national propaganda of the UNA and its newspaper *Svoboda* did not aim at establishing a national Ukrainian identity by convincing their members and readers to read Svoboda, Franko, and Shevchenko[42], to awake and afterwards to preserve the Ukrainian ethnical identity far away from the Ukrainian lands. On the other hand they were aware that basic Americanization was a necessary development for a identity as Ukrainian-American citizens.

We may conclude that the first modern Ukrainian State of mind declared its independence in North America and not in the Ukrainian lands. The New World formed the right frame to enable the immigrants to speak their own language, develop their cultural heritage, and even form an ethnonational identity[43]. With regard to the Ukrainian national questions this "state" had only apolitical implications.

Widely known, in this context, is the dilemma of Poland having its Paderewski, the Czechs their Masaryk, but the Ukrainians failing to present leadership, to form an Ukrainian lobby, strategic planning and contacts to the establishment in Western democracies – to demonstrate the Ukrainian matter as a matter worth fighting politically for[44].

This study aimed at outlining the process of identity formation in North America. First, the Ruthenian peasant – for whom the Greek-Catholic or Orthodox denomination was equivalent to their cultural and ethnic heritage at all – adopted either the Canadian and the U.S.-American identity. Thus, Canadianization and Americanization was perceived by the Ruthenian peasant not as being similar to Russification, but only as a mere increase in civilization, offering them last not least constitutional rights.

With knowledge of these rights, the Ruthenian American/Canadian peasantry was facing the next step of identity formation. This next step introduced by the progressive élites, the priests and the Ukrainian English-teachers. The message of the medium was called 'Ukrainization'. While in the countryside of Alberta and Manitoba the Ruthenian-Candian farmer took the campaign for what it was: benefits in form of clerical service, schooling, and cultural life on a low level. Whereas in the industrialized U.S.-American context Ukrainization was already given a national-political sense.

The agitators of UNA and *Svoboda* conceived the Ruthenian immigrant to form a Ukrainian-American identity

in the positivist sense of fighting for an autonomous Ukrainian State on the basis of American citizenship.

Finally, we may come up with the question, whether the nowadays assimilated Ukrainian North Americans are not the better patriots compared to 48 million people in the Ukrainian Republic said to live in a " state of national unconsciousness"?[45]

In general, the modern Ukraine could benefit from the experiences of the immigration of their forefathers as citizens to Canada and the United States for many reasons.

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[1] According to current official Ukrainian statistics some two million ethnic Ukrainians live in the United States, about one million in Canada. The largest number of Ukrainians abroad live in Russia (4,3 million), "Informatsiinyi Biuletyn Mds. NmiR", 1995. – № 1. – Pp. 45 – 46.

[2] Thelen, David. Toward a Comparative and Transnational Perspective on History. // Skhid – Zakhid: Istorychno-kul'turovyi zbirnyk. Vyp. 3. – Kharkiv, 2001. – Pp. 5 – 22, 18.

[3] Takach, Arthur. In search of Ukrainian national identity: 1840 – 1921. // Ethnic and Racial Studies. Vol. 19 (1996). – Pp. 644 – 645.

[4] Ibidem. "[...], there is no doubt that the Ukrainian awakeners had to encounter almost insurmountable obstacles in their efforts to disseminate national ideas among the peasant population. What further complicated their efforts was the fact that the language of instruction was Russian, which in Ukraine was poorly understood, and that the public school system served as a potent agency of Russian imperial socialization. Consequently, as many scholars have stated, the overwhelming majority of peasants had only a very poorly developed sense of national identity, if any at all".

[5] "Thus, Western Ukrainian society in the last century consisted mostly of two social groups: peasants and priests". – Ibidem. – P. 647.

[6] Zięba, Andrzej. Gente Rutheni, Natione Poloni, in: Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Vol. II (1995). – P. 69; As in Russia, so in Austro-Hungary urbanization didn't play a role in the formation of a modern Ruthenian industrial society – in 1900 only 14% of the urban population in Western Galicia, and 25% to 30% in Eastern Galicia, was Ruthenian; "In fact, ethnicity enters the political sphere as 'nationalism' at times when cultural homogeneity or continuity is required by the economic base of social life, and when consequently culture-linked class differences become noxious, while ethnically unmarked, gradual class differences remain tolerable". See Gellner, Ernest. Nations and Nationalism. – Oxford, 1993. – P. 36.

[7] Magocsi, Paul Robert. 'Ukrainians'. Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic groups. – Harvard 1980. – P. 998.

[8] Kuropas, Myron B. The Ukrainian Americans. – Toronto, 1991. – Pp. 16 – 20.

[9] Gerus, O.W. and Rea, J.E. The Ukrainians in Canada. – Ottawa, 1985. – P. 4.

[10] "The Little Russian mentality is the consequence of that dramatic cleavage of the collective self, which means that million of 'locals' on the one hand no longer have the courage to identify themselves with Ukraine or the Ukrainian national feeling and on the other hand do not want to renounce the remains of their Ukrainian heritage and move on to a full identification with Russia and the Russian nation. The ethnic schizophrenia gives rise to that curious halfway-house formula, – We aren't Russians; we aren't Ukrainians either. We are from Odesa, we are from Donbas, we were born and bred in Kyiv. The anaesthetic phrases 'it doesn't matter' or 'they are almost one and the same nation [the Russians and the Ukrainians]' or they have the same origin", Ryabchuk, Mykola: From 'Little Russia' to 'Indo-Europe': the stereotype of the nation in the Ukrainian social consciousness and social thought, in: Teresa Walas (ed.). Stereotypes and Nations. – Krakow, 1995. – P. 124.

[11] According to contemporary sociological studies of the International Organization of Migration economic aspects have been, in comparison to religious and political aspects by far (70 %) the main motivation to leave Ukraine, Malynovs'ka, O. Vid analizu do rozrobky kontseptsii. Osoblyvosti mihratsiinoi sytuatsii v Ukraini. // Polityka i Chas, 1995 (10). – P. 47; see also Andrushchenko /Mykhalchenko/ Prybytkova. Mihratsiine buttia v Ukraini. R. VIII. // Mihratsiini protsesy v suchasnomu sviti. Entsyklopedia. Pid. red. J. Rymarenka. – Kyiv, 1998.

[12] Kuropas. Ukrainain Americans. – Pp. 21 – 22.

[13] Czumer, William A. About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada. – Edmonton, 1981. – Pp. 28 – 31.

[14] Gerus, op. cit. – P. 5.

[15] Czumer, op. cit.– P. 14, 20.

[16] "Officially, a total of 254.376 Ruthenian immigrants arrived in the United States between 1899 and 1914" / Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – P. 24.

[17] Magocsi. Ukrainians. – P. 998.

[18] Gerus, op. cit. – P. 6.

[19] The continuos mass emigration of peasantry alarmed the Austrian authorities and especially the big land owners, faced with the loss of cheap village labor. Despite all efforts to stem the tide the land hungry peasants were so interested in Canada's free land that nothing could stop them from going. Not only the poor went, but even the well-to-do who had the resources and money for such a long trip. How could one not go when it was possible to acquire 160 acres of land for only ten dollars. These 160 acres were what lured the peasant to think he could become rich". / Czumer, op. cit. – P. 26.

[20] Sifton was sharply criticized for his „policy of encouraging 'herds of half-civilized Galicians', as the Ukrainians were commonly known, to settle in Western Canada". / Gerus, op. cit. – P. 9.

[21] Ibidem.

[22] Czumer, op. cit. – Pp. 45 – 47.
[23] Magocsi. Ukrainians. – P. 999.
[24] Czumer, op. cit. – P. 49.
[25] "The loss of religion – their longing for their homeland and their native customs and way of life - spurred the pioneers to united action to create familiar surrounding in a foreign land" / ibidem. – P. 51.
[26] "By the time structured religious life took root within the Ukrainian Catholic community, secular influences, absent in Galicia, had begun to assert themselves in Canada. The inability of the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop, Budka, to adjust new conditions generated tensions which by 1918 led to a division within the Catholic community and the formation of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church. The new church consisted of former Catholics and Bukovynians" / Gerus, op. cit. – P. 14.
[27] Czumer, op. cit. – P. 135.
[28] Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – Pp. 124 – 125.
[29] Czumer, op. cit. – Pp. 61 – 64.
[30] "Out of a frightened, downtrodden Galician-Ruthenian, these teachers created an aware Ukrainian Canadian" / Ibidem. – P. 70.
[31] "The making of an Ukrainian in America, that is, the metamorphosis of the immigrant from Ukrainian lands from a Ruthenian religiocultural identity to a Ukrainian ethnonational identity, […]." / Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – P. 74.
[32] Magocsi, Paul R. A history of Ukraine. – Toronto, 1996. – P. 377.
[33] Czumer, op. cit. – P. 87.
[34] Ibidem. – P. 105.
[35] Ibidem. – P. 112.
[36] Ibidem. – P. 114.
[37] Ibidem. – Pp. 117 – 118.
[38] Molenda scopes on the formation of the national consciousness of the Polish peasants enslaved by the Poland occupying empires. The term 'national consciousness' fits not on the Ukrainians in immigration, because a nation defines itself by the territories the nationality is living on, too, Molenda, Jan. The formation of national consciousness of the Polish peasant and the part they played in the regaining of independence by Poland. / Acta Poloniae Historica 63 – 63 (1991). – Pp. 123 – 124.
[39] Kuropas. Ukrainian Americans. – Pp. 75 – 76.
[40] Ibidem. – Pp. 76 – 77.
[41] Ibidem.
[42] Ibidem. – Pp. 85 – 86.
[43] "Over all, the pre-World War I period especially prior to 1910, proved to be the most enlightened and productive era in Ukrainian-American History. […] In terms of ethnonational growth this was an era that would never be equalled" / Kuropas, Myron B. The Centenary of the Ukrainian emigration to the United States. / Paul Robert Magocsi (ed.), The Ukrainian experience in the United States. – Cambridge, Massachusetts 1979. – P. 42.
[44] Compare for example: Pavliuk, Oleksandr. Borot'ba Ukrainy za nezalezhnist' i polityka SSHA (1917 – 1923). – Kyiv 1996.
[45] Ryabchuk, op. cit. – P. 120.

Франк ҐРЕЛКА
Бохум

ФОРМУВАННЯ КУЛЬТУРНОЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ І НАЦІОНАЛІЗМ: ІММІГРАНТИ З УКРАЇНИ В КАНАДІ І СПОЛУЧЕНИХ ШТАТАХ АМЕРИКИ (1870 – 1914)

В статті зазначається, що процеси формування ідентичності в Канаді і США відрізнялися один від одного. На першій стадії українські селяни, для яких греко-католицьке або православне віросповідання було цілком рівноцінним їхній культурній і етнічній спадщині, сприйняли також канадську і американську ідентичність. Канадізація і американізація, на відміну від русифікації, сприймалася українськими селянами як зростання рівня цивілізованості, забезпечення конституційних прав. На основі цього американські/ канадські українські селяни були чутливими до наступної стадії формування ідентичності. Цей процес був підтриманий в засобах масової інформації передовою елітою, священиками, вчителями і дістав назву "українізація". Українські селяни в Канаді слабо підтримували її здійснення, тоді як в промислово розвиненому американському контексті українізація набула національно-політичного змісту.

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CORRELATION BETWEEN ECONOMIC-CULTURAL TYPES AND HISTORIC-ETHNOGRAPHIC COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF ETHNOARCHEOLOGY

The issues of economic adaptation of primitive communities have been actively discussed since the middle of the 20th century. It was an Anglo-American scientific school, known as a "new archaeology" or "ethnoarchaeology" that set a task to shift from the archaeological vision to the historic vision of the epoch. The material culture of modern nations has become the object of investigation for ethnoarchaeologists, while the subject-matter of investigation is the specific character of peoples behaviour and their social interrelations as reflected in the material culture. At present "ethnoarchaeology" is interpreted as a method of application of ethnic sources to reconstruct the way of living of early primitive inhabitants, known from archaeological sources.

The investigations in this field by our experts were linked to the concept of economic-cultural type and historic-ethnographic communities. Both notions were formulated by the Soviet ethnography[1]. Ethnographers define the economic-cultural type as "…the complexes of economic and cultural peculiarities that were formed historically and are peculiar to the peoples that live in certain natural conditions and have a particular level of social and economic development"[2]. Modern archaeology regards economic and cultural types as models of adaptation to the surrounding medium. The category of economic-cultural type is closely connected with the category of historic-ethnographic community which is defined in ethnography as a territory "with a distinct cultural community formed as a result of long-term relations, mutual influence and of common destinies of the nations that inhabit this territory"[3]. The development of historic-ethnographic community was mostly influenced by ethnogenetic unity and mutual influence of the cultures it comprised; as for the economic-cultural type, the peculiarities of culture were defined, first of all, by the directions of economic activities within certain natural conditions. The categories of economic-cultural type and historic-ethnographic community are the most important interpretative categories in the history of the primitive society. In archaeology the basic principles of reconstruction of economic-cultural types and historic-ethnographic communities are represented by local variants of the material culture. Consideration of the factors that determine locality is an important part in the formation of hierarchy of the local variants. They were fully considered in the works by V.P.Liubin, who put forward a hypothesis that local variants consisted of the peculiarities of stone and bone implements of historical remains, peculiarities of household activities, domestic objects (the house, the hearth, etc.), specific evidence, connected with ideological beliefs (works of art, burial sites, etc.), as well as of the migration factor (introduction of cultural elements that are not typical of a particular territory)[4].

Ethnic cultures of human communities are one of the ways to manifest local cultural diversity. While considering ethnic parameters of culture we deal with the specific character of historically developed methods of adaptation of various human communities regarded in correlation to each other. Local diversity of cultures is determined by "…the necessity to reflect concrete environmental conditions, assimilated by various historic human communities in the process of their development and to fix the specific features of this development in corresponding cultures as specific methods of adaptation to the environment"[5].

According to physical and geographical division into the districts, there are two zones in the Ukrainian Upper Palaeolithic: Northern (pre-ice) and Southern. The climatic conditions, landscape and fauna of the two zones differ significantly. Consequently, the economic specialization differed too. In the Northern zone people hunted the mammoth, reindeer and other forest-tundra animals; in the Southern zone they hunted the bison, horses, saiga and other steppe animals. Within these zones there exist large ethnocultural regions – the Middle Dnieper Region (Seredniodniprovska) and Subcarpathian-Volynian Region. The remains of steppe zone occupy a separate place in the Upper Palaeolithic. The monuments of the Crimea also form a separate zone. Within ethnocultural regions some minor archaeological cultures are situated[6].

The categories of economic-cultural type and historic-ethnographic community are genetically connected with each other via the element of the primitive community, which is the basic economic cell, the head production

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group that jointly fights for the means of sustenance. In different years the problems of correlation between these categories were investigated by M.V.Voevodskiy[7] and A.A.Formozov[8] on the basis of Mesolithic and Neolithic materials. Principally new for the Upper Palaeolithic is an attempt by M.I.Gladkikh[9] to trace dialectic interrelation between the economic-cultural types and historic-ethnographic communities, as related to the Upper Palaeolithic.

Three variants could be considered concerning the correlation of the archaeological culture and the economic-cultural type: first, territorial borders of archaeological culture and economic-cultural type coincide fully or partially; second, within the borders of one economic-cultural type there are several related or not-related archaeological cultures; third, different variants and sub-variants of archaeological culture belong to different economic-cultural types.

There is a range of factors that influenced the interaction between two categories during the period of the Upper Palaeolithic: social, natural and functional. Economic-cultural and historic-ethnographic roots of representatives of certain archaeological cultures are reflected in the categories of material culture of the Upper Palaeolithic artifacts (homes and dwellings, instruments and tools, works of art, etc.). Methods of usage of natural means of living depend, first and foremost, on social and economic development of the community, as well as on the character of the habitat. Specific features and peculiarities of cultural development, "…characteristic features of the works of art, house interiors, methods of processing the stone, certain types of flint and bone wares, etc., can be regarded as ethnic or even ethnographic characteristics"[10].

The environment radically influenced on the outward appearance of the dwellings and the productive activities of the inhabitants. Thus, the layers of flint influenced the geography of dwellings of the Upper Palaeolithic people. Mapping of artifacts of this period displays a significant concentration of the artifacts in the regions rich in raw materials: the Crimea, Novgorod-Siverskiy region, the Middle Dniester region, etc. A number of dwellings were found in the regions with convenient relief. The Upper Palaeolithic dwellings of mammoth hunters were situated in valleys of the rivers with large water-meadows (Mizyn, Mezhyrich, Gintsi, Kyrylivska). The artifacts of the Southern zone, bison hunters dwellings, prove that the primitive inhabitants of this region settled down in the places with clearly shaped outlines of the relief, which considerably eased baying the animals (Anetivka II, Amvrosiivka, Velyka Akkarja, etc.). In primitive times some natural barriers (mountain ranges, deserts, rivers) were used as ethnic boundaries.

The development of primitive groups of people was mostly influenced by cold climate conditions. Thus, mammoth hunters could not live outside warm houses. Numerous houses of such type were found on the sites of dwellings in the middle part of the Dnieper river – Mizyn, Mezhyrich, Dobranichivka, etc. Well-planned structure of the dwellings, which consisted of economic and domestic complexes, draws a lot of attention. The core of such complexes was made up of a solid house with a number of constructions, surrounding it. They were workshops for flint and bone processing, bag processing; pits for storing meat and bones; as well as fire places. To built houses, primitive people used mammoth bones and horns of reindeer. Those houses looked rather like northern yarangas. Like the Mizyn house that was thoroughly studied, the framework was made of wooden poles, fixed at the edge of the floor and jointed overhead in the middle. This framework was covered with mammoth skins. To strengthen the walls, primitive people used mammoth bones and the horns of reindeer. Slanting walls of the house were laid with skulls, pelvic and large bones of the mammoths extremities. The house was topped by the horns of reindeer. On the floor there were three fireplaces. Around the centre of the floor there were four groups of mammoth bones dug in the ground that were used as the props for the poles.

The remains of light framework houses were discovered at the sites of dwellings in the Southern part of Ukraine Apparently, these types of houses were covered by the bison skins. A complex planigraphic structure was traced in Amvrosiivka, Anetivka II and Velyka Akkarja dwellings. Some more early artifacts (Muralovka, Sagaidak, Yamy) had more primitive structure and were situated separately[11].

Animals' living conditions in southern and northern regions were different; as a result, it was necessary to use different hunting methods and skills. Bison hunting was conditioned by seasonal migration, according to which primitive communities developed hunting strategy[12]. The problem of seasonal dwelling of the Upper Palaeolithic localities is still under discussion. O.A.Soffer believes that the Upper Palaeolithic dwellings discovered here were inhabited seasonally[13]. However, taking into consideration the latest investigations and analysis of fauna materials, it is assumed that mammoth hunters did not aim at hunting fur animals; they lived in the dwellings all year round for many years[14]. The weight of mammoth considerably exceeds the weight of the bison. The animals have different speed movement, the characteristic features of their living differ too. Thus, hunting efforts and hunting methods differed as well. Bison hunters, who represented economic-cultural type, used artificial enclosures or natural precipice when hunting. The majority of the Upper Palaeolithic mammoth hunters dwellings were located near the water. It gives us grounds to assume that primitive hunters killed the animals after baying them into marshes or onto thin ice. Primitive deer hunters in the northern region cracked ice at the places of mass river crossing by the animals during their seasonal migration. The majority of dwelling of the Upper Palaeolithic reindeer hunters were located near the water, which made collective deer hunting much easier.

Although, it's very likely that basic methods of carcass skinning were very similar, still certain divergence could probably be traced, as the animals of strategic importance had different weight, skeleton structure, etc. The model of such skinning in the Southern region of Ukraine was reproduced by I.A.Snizhko, who based his researches on the data from the Upper Palaeolithic dwelling Amvrosiivka[15]. A killed bison was utilized on the spot. The procedure of utilization consisted of several stages: during the first stage the carcass was skinned and divided into segments; during the next stage the carcass was dismembered into smaller pieces. At both stages the marrow was extracted. Carcass parts with meat were taken to the dwelling where they were used as food.

Production tools reflect both ethnic and economic belonging of settlers. Economic-cultural background of the dwellers could be traced down in the tools used for specific activities. Bison hunters, for example, used spears with bone (Amvrosiivka) or horn (Anetivka II) points. In the dwellings of the Middle Dnieper region there were found bone points of spears, used by mammoth hunters[16]. A great number of pestle grind-stones found in the Dniester region testify to the importance of gathering there. As it is stated in scientific works, the traces of flint microtools in the dwellings of the steppe region revealed the specific features of economic specialization[17]. In a range of remains of steppe zone microtools make up 40 – 50 per cent. Other categories of working tools (axes, daggers, etc.) apart from economic characteristics can reflect ethnic belonging of the dwellers. The specific environment should be taken into consideration while studying these tools. Thus, an axe found in the peripheral zones of the steppe region can testify to particular economic-cultural occupation of the dwellers, while various types of axes found in the forest zone reflect ethnic belonging of the dwellers[18]. Individual characteristics of different types of stone influenced the form and functions of the tools used, which could not be shaped in the same way, thus, promoting the variety of stoneware. The specific feature of the Upper Palaeolithic technique in the West of Ukraine is the use soft types of stone, processed by cutting, polishing and boring. The traditions of processing the stone had been forming for many years by many generations. The materials of archaeological findings testify to the changeability of the tools in the process of their production. This factor, indicative of locality, was singled out by M.I.Gladkikh[19]. Every community accumulates certain experience while interacting with environment and other communities. There are two ways of transferring on this experience: genetic and non-genetic. The information that is most essential for human communities' is gradually getting stereotyped. It helps not only to preserve selection but to save its working volume in the process of constant renovation. A craftsman, for example, acquires individual, original and unique experience while producing his tools. An altered tool joined real objects and became one of the sources to create ideal models. The difference between stone implements could be explained in most cases by exogamous traditions. When neighbouring exogamous communities exchanged marriage partners they also exchanged cultural traditions, which brought about technical and typological differences and came as a result of new techniques within each primitive community. Flint collections of certain Upper Palaeolithic dwellings represent a certain archaeological culture. Thus, the flint tools of Mizyn dwelling differ from the flint tools of Mizhrichi, Dobranichivka and Gintsi. However, a number of common features of material and spiritual culture of the dwelling with cultural and historic unity, represented by the remains of the Mezhyrich type, makes it possible to assume that there is a common basis for historic and cultural development of the dwellers. Common features of the material culture of the two cultural and historic communities are reflected in the constructions and decoration of homes, stylistic peculiarities of fine arts, arrangement of household and living complexes. Archaeological collections of flint implements contain most often some elements that are typical of another culture. There are some points of similarity of flint implements between Amvrosiivka dwelling and the second layer of Telman stopping place at Kostionky X. Thus, the second layer of Telman stopping place might testify that there was certain relationships of the dwellers with the steppe zone region[20]. Specific cultural features could be observed in the Upper Palaeolithic dwelling of Zhuravka. Although the dwelling was located in the Middle part of the Dnieper river, its flint implements remind those of the southern region. Stable ethnic traditions, discovered in another economic zone and connected with migrations of the primitive communities, are also traced down in the remains of the Upper Palaeolithic dwelling in Siberia – Malta. Without going into the debatable problem of the origin of Maltyn culture, it is necessary to note that, resulting from the examination of constructions, dwellings structure, bone tools and decorations the scientists managed to discover a number of features similar to the artifacts of Willendorf and Kostionkiv culture. It is obvious that cultural traditions that had been transferred so far away were changed; thus it makes it possible to single out independent Maltyn culture, still it is not possible yet to trace down the site where this culture originated from[21].

Economic specialization of primitive communities in some way influenced clothes and foot-wear production. Depending on economic orientation of the representatives of material cultures, the differences became apparent in the cut of the clothes and foot-wear, which sometimes had different styles of fur edging. Ethnic differentiating function that was evident in tools, clothes, footwear and other materials "… was more powerful in ancient times than in the late Middle Ages and new times"[22]. According to ethnographic data, the Eskimos wear two layers of fur clothings without fastening with a hood. The inhabitants of sub-ice zone used the same type of clothes, which

can be seen in the representation of similar clothes in a series of Palaeolithic statuettes made of mammoth tusk and found on the territory of Siberia (Malta and Buret'). Clothe fasteners made of mammoth tusk were found on the territory of Mizyn dwelling. They consisted of small rounded sticks with spherical bulgings and linking elements between them. Bison hunters did not need such warm clothes.

Works of art have double function: on the one hand, they are closely connected with peoples' ethnic consciousness, but on the other hand, they reflect specific features of economic structure, which, in its turn, in the process of historic interpretations requires to consider the material they were made of. In the northern regions people used mammoth tusk to produce works of art. The tusk technological qualities (solidity and elasticity) made it possible to produce bulky things and fine works of art made from plates. In the northern part of Ukraine the scientists found many statuettes of women carved from the mammoth tusk. There were also bracelets with meander pattern there. Sea and river mussels were of great importance in this region. They could be worn by and used in clothing of primitive hunters: they were sewn on the clothes and head-dresses as amulets, worn as bracelets or pendants. Thus, 829 mussels were found in the Upper Palaeolithic dwelling of Mizyn[23].

Amber decorations were also widely used (Gintsi, Mizyn, Mezhyrichi, Dobranichivka, Semenivka). The rituals of this region are connected with the cult of woman, while in the southern zone there was the cult of animal (bison)[24]. During the digging of Anetivka II dwelling, a ritual complex was found. It revealed a special attitude towards the skulls of bison. There were also discovered big shoulder-blades that could function as constructive and ritual elements of some construction. To the attributes of the ceremonies bent bone points can be referred. A percussion "ensemble" was found in the dwelling of Mizyn that consisted of a shoulder-blade, a thigh-bone, pelvic bones, two jaws, a piece of a mammoth's jaw as well as sound-making instruments: rattle, hammer, "noise" bracelet[25]. Other musical instruments – the "flute" and various pipes, made of the horns of reindeer, were excavated in the Upper Palaeolithic dwellings of the Dniester river – Molodova I and Molodova II[26]. The pipe of the fourth layer of Molodova V dwelling has a number of openings and traces of cross-tying that helped to make different musical sounds. The Dnieper region presents the examples of visual art, i.e. schematised anthropomorphous images of people. As an element of decoration the primitive people widely used pendants made of animals teeth: horse teeth (Osokorivka, Dubova Balka), bear teeth (Anetivka II, Gintsi, Mezhyrichi) and polar fox teeth (Molodove V).

According to ethnographic observations, the difference between peoples could be traced in food, food processing, mealtime, etc. "The systems of nutrition generally correspond to historic and cultural regions, which the details make it possible to differentiate the ethnicities and sub-ethnic units,…as for more general categories of nutrition models, they usually embrace larger areas that historic and cultural regions"[27]. In accordance with economic specialization of representatives of certain economic-cultural types it is possible to investigate the differences in consumption, ways of storage and food processing, domination or lack of vegetation, etc. Nutrition systems contain a behavioral aspect: it means that two actions or processes are carried out with the same purpose, for example, meat processing for roasting could be performed in two different ways, which will have no influence on the final product, but they could play an important role while defining the boundary-lines of ethnocultural areas. It also concerns the standards of behaviour of meals consumption (for example, position of hands during eating, additional instruments for taking food, etc.).

The remains of Molodova culture dwellings show that gathering was most widely spread on the territory of the Sub-Carpathian regions and the Dniester river region. A significant number of pestle grind-stones was found in Molodova I and Molodova V dwellings. As a rule, the place of the pestle and the grind-stone was by the fire. Pestle grind-stones were of different forms – semi-cylindrical, cylindrical and cone-shaped. There is no doubt that they were used for quite a long time. As a result of digging of Volodymyrskiy Upper Palaeolithic dwelling, river turtles were found, which proved the significance of gathering at that time. Due to poor vegetation in the sub-ice steppes, the northern regions were not rich in vegetable diet. In the regions with mild climate conditions the wild herbs, fruits, nuts were widely used for food. They were eaten raw or roasted. Frozen ground served as a good storage medium for food. Mammoth hunters stored meat of killed animals in special storage pits. The period of active food storing coincided with the time when the weather conditions helped to keep supplies of food unspoilt. In the Arctic dwellings such periods were very short and they fell on the early spring or late autumn[28]. The dwellers of the southern regions could dry or smoke meat in order to store it better. According to ethnographic data, the most desired food of the tundra northdeer-breeder was domestic reindeer meat, as well as internal organs and fresh blood of these animals[29]. In ethnography some superstitions were mentioned related to consumption of certain kinds of food. In a number of American Indian tribes vegetable food and fish are mostly consumed[30]. Such divergences are usually caused by natural conditions, but many of them could be explained by cultural traditions. Peoples that lived in such conditions had clearly expressed differences of this kind: the Ossets, for example, have well-developed pig-breeding traditions, but other peoples of the Northern Caucasian region very rarely keep pigs which reflects religious difference[31].

The closest connection between economic-cultural type and historic-ethnographic community could be observed

at the early stage of its formation. It was the period of ethnic consolidation of dwellers, which was realized via family relations; yet, there is no separation of the ethnic parameters of culture. The culture of a certain community was subordinated to a number of norms, expressed in ethnic self-awareness that could be traced in ethnonyms. The most vivid examples of such self-awareness are presented in ethnographic materials of Siberia; there is a distinct understanding of "we" and "they", "our" and "non-our". Within a tribe or protoethnos of the final Palaeolithic communities, ethnic consciousness could not realize itself in full[3 2]. One of the characteristic features of primitive ethnic communities, in comparison with ethnoses of later periods, is its less discrete character, its heterogeneity, instability, established self-awareness, connected with blood-related, economic and spiritual relations. We could assume that these characteristics were typical of primitive ethnoses of the Upper Palaeolithic period. Ethnic stereotypes, ethnic prejudices, including ethnoracial ones, sympathy and antipathy might have already existed and found their expression in historic and ethnographic community, inside which, there was an interaction of different groups of population, who represented different material cultures. Natural environment, which was often extreme and unstable, brought about special living conditions of the primitive communities. Within the boundaries of one region one could observe several archaeological cultures with the same type of economic, which testifies to a specific character of these communities. Due to these factors the economic-cultural type acquired ethnic features. During the process of ethnic and economic-cultural consolidation an ethnic macrosystem appears, which is based on a specific economic-cultural type. Such a system, being localized within certain natural, social and economic conditions, forms a historic and ethnographic community. As the economic-cultural type is getting more and more stable, it still remains a system on a microlevel, in social and living organisms. On higher levels the system is gradually undergoing the process of splitting up and it increases the distinguishing features in the variants of economic-cultural types.

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Ганна ІНДИЧЕНКО
Київ

СПІВВІДНОШЕННЯ ГОСПОДАРСЬКО-КУЛЬТУРНИХ ТИПІВ ТА ІСТОРИКО-ЕТНОГРАФІЧНИХ СПІЛЬНОСТЕЙ В КОНТЕКСТІ ЕТНОАРХЕОЛОГІЇ

В статті, крізь призму археологічного джерела, розглядається питання співвідношення господарсько-культурних типів та історико-етнографічних спільностей. Діалектичний взаємозв"язок двох категорій, знаходив свій вияв в пізньопалеолітичну добу, через компонент первісної общини, в якій, в різних формах, відображалася матеріальна культура конкретних первісних угруповань. Матеріали пізньопалеолітичних пам'яток дають можливість виявити як така взаємодія залежала від соціальних, природних, та функціональних факторів. В контексті етноархеологічного підходу, широко використовуються археологічні та етнічні джерела.

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"COLLECTIVE PORTRAITS" OF ENGLISH STATE-POWER HOLDERS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 17h CENTURY IN THE STUDIES OF MODERN BRITISH HISTORIANS

British historiography has the richest traditions and occupies the leading positions in the world historiography. In the second half of the 20th century one of its main directions – the studying of the English Revolution – was enriched with new techniques and research methods. The elaboration of new methodology was caused by the new tendencies in the development of the British history science after the Second World War and was marked by the challenge of so called sociohistoricism. This wide scientific movement, which sought strong relationships between history and the social sciences (sociology, ethnology, anthropology, economics, demography, psychology etc.) was based on the interdisciplinary approach to the study of human society.

The impact of the "new" (often called "new social") history on the British political historiography was so strong that it produced some replies of political historians. Actually, new lines of research based on new methods and categories developing by social sciences marked the deep change of political history from its constitutional developments to administrative ones. As to the language of the British political historiography, this period was remarkable by its shift from the political narrative towards the "new political history" (or "professional political history") based on scientific methods of research.

As a result, in the early 1950s the new direction in the studying of the English Revolution was founded. It was concentrated on the making of so called "collective portraits" (or "social biographies"). What interested modern British historians was not primarily the great political issues of the time or the careers of the leading statesmen, but the composition and recruitment of the political élite as revealed by the minutiae of the personnel case-histories of ordinary MPs and office-holders. The method they used in their researches was collective biography, for which the technical term was "prosopography". This word popularized since the 1930s for the collective study of individual lives and careers, together with family relationships and patronage connections, then with geographic, economic, religious and mental peculiarities[1]. The technique was pioneered in America by Ch.Beard and then enriched and improved for the English history studies by L.B.Namier. Namier's approach was quickly taken up by historians working on different periods, and the researcher was awarded by the honorary title "Farther of the History of Parliament"[2].

It was accepted, that new technique allowed to reject the broad social categories and ideological misleading in the studying of the past. The deep analysis also provided historians with possibilities to immerse in the real world of men's interests, to understand the complicated motivation of men's political conduct[3].

New research methodology was successfully used in the early 1950s for the complex studying of the political mechanisms in the Long Parliament. First at all, it should be mentioned the book of D.Brunton and D.Pennington "Members of the Long Parliament"[4].The idea of this study was formulated in 1947 under the proposition of L.Namier. At that time both historians had teaching practice at Manchester University, where L.Namier was the head at the chair of Modern history[5]. The book of D.Brunton and D.Pennington contained an analysis of the Commons' House of the Long Parliament from the opening of that assembly on 3 November 1640, to its expulsion by O.Cromwell on 20 April 1653. The authors' aim was to show diversities, not only of opinion, but also of social status, occupational interests, education, age and political experience of MPs[6]. Knowledge of these traits, as they saw it, facilitated a more realistic view of the English Parliament at the English Revolution. The authors concluded that choosing of the sides in the conflict by MPs had not been bounded with diversities in their economic and social status[7]. On that point, D.Brunton and D.Pennington stressed, that internal forces and influences had determined political conduct of MPs, so any economic or social explanation of the split within seventeenth-century English community led to distortion of what really had happened. Historical method and controversial results of D.Brunton and D.Pennington's research provoked the serious critics on their address and caused new wave of debate in the British historiography on the origins and the nature of the English Revolution[8].

Nevertheless, at the same time, on the other side of Atlantic ocean, in America, another research on this theme

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had appeared[9]. Although its author Mrs. M.Keeler outlined the same aim of research, her study was chronologically limited: she analyzed the composition of the Long Parliament only during the 1640 – 1641. The author gave the "Collective Portrait" of the whole group of MPs of the Long Parliament (total 547 members) based on individual biographies each of the Parliamentary man. On this point, M.Keeler's study is primary the Biographical Dictionary of MPs. As to the merits of her work, we can notice that she also applied modern statistical techniques to the information in order to present the results of her research in numerous tables and schemes. Also it should be mentioned, that M. Keeler avoided the general conclusions, but the results of her research contained a number of controversial issues which helped to renew the discussion among modern British historians about the origins of the English Revolution[10].

The new research approach, the core of which contained the prosopography, quantitative methods and structural analysis of different elements in functioning of state institutions, attracted a number of historians working on British history and was enriched in the officially sponsored fundamental research porject: "The History of Parliament". The *History of Parliament* is the national dictionary of parliamentary biography, which has the main task to record and identify all of the 75000 members, who sat in all the Parliaments and parliamentary assembles down to 1918[11]. The project was based at the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London.

There are currently several Sections at work on the House of Commons, and two of them concerning the periods 1604 – 1629 and 1640 – 1660. The biographies required for these two Sections number 3,571, of which 2,582 have been drafted (at April 2002)[12]. A considerable attention of researches is placed on attempting to explain each Member's parliamentary activity, including his committee nominations and this inevitably involves examing in detail their interests outside Parliament. The information presented in the Members' database cover essential topics such as patronage and office-holding, and also include the studying of MPs' activity while Parliament was in session and the extra-parliamentary lobbing (of such state-bodies as the Privy Council) by Members on behalf of their constituents. Actually, the five decades covered by these Sections represent one of the most eventful, and from a historiographical perspective, challenging periods in English parliamentary history.

Among the new trends conceived in the studying of the Early Stuart England in modern British historiography in 1960 – 1970s was the elaboration of so called "social biography" of English bureaucracy. This direction came to be closely associated with the name of famous British historian G.Aylmer and with his original works on this theme[13]. G.Aylmer's books deal with institutions of government, terms and conditions of service, administrative methods and, above all, with the people themselves, who were studied in their political, religious and social context. Within that broad framework the author discussed the complex problems of the relations between bureaucracy and social structure and between politics and administration.

This attempt to build up a composite portrait of a bureaucracy, or to be literal, several hundred portraits of civil servants, inevitably raised question of historical method. The content of the question was: whether the technique of collecting biographical information, which had given fruits in the studying of parliamentary history, would profitably be applied to the study of administration? As historians considered, the deep analysis taken up by G.Aylmer in his books, gave the positive reply on that question[14]. The great contribution made by G.Aylmer in the development of Namier's research approach, as we can judge it, is widely recognized. Actually, historian improved the biographical method (prosopography), enforced it by accurate social analysis, then by severe economic statistics, demographical and psychological attitudes, and by several elements of structural analysis.

Nevertheless, some prejudices about using of new research technique in historical studies were widespread among the large number of British historians. Two main issues of controversy between strong supporters and severe adversaries of this research approach were clearly defined. The first was expressed by famous British historian Ch.Hill. He argued, that the approach to the history of politics (closely associated with L.Namier), which stressed on personal connections and their influence on politics, led to distortion of the historical processes, because it provided historians with "wrong accents" and purely mechanistic explanations of the past[15].

Moreover, the interpretations based on statistics inevitably raised the problem of using the source material. As J.Tosh considered, "no historian, however well endowed with research assistants and computer… could hope to survey all the primary sources needed for a quantitative study"[16]. On that point, for the historian of any period, not only of the 17th c. England, the problem of the access to the raw material is the main unsolved problem, and without the studying of all historical evidences the total picture of the past would be distorted.

Finally, it should be noted, that demerits of this research technique produced the moderate view spreaded among British historians towards the using of this approach in historical studies. Though of value for the investigation of élite's and certain institutions and groups, such as Parliament and political parties and groups (for which there were existing sources), it was pushed too hard to the studying of broad social groups. So, it was accepted, that the areas to which it could usefully be applied were limited.

It must be concluded also, that the accepted picture of seventeenth-century English politics was demolished by the applying of new methods of research. These new developments in the studying of the English Revolution enriched

knowledge about it and caused the elaboration of new interpretations of the 17th century England's history.

These tendencies in the development of the British History science in the second half of the 20th c. and methodological attitudes of the modern British historians towards the elaboration of the different social aspects of the English administrative history of the first half of the 17th c., merits and demerits of the works discussed here, there were the issues of the several works in the British and Soviet historiography before (see, for instance works by R. Richardson, T.Pavlova, I.Sharifzanov)[17]. But the more detailed analysis of their works has shown, that the authors often studied these issues separately. Actually, this article is the first attempt in the contemporary Ukrainian historiography to study these problems not only in the conditions of the elaboration of English 17th c. history, but also in the context of the developments in the British history science of the second half of the 20th century. The author consider, that at present the acquaintance with these developments in modern British historiography has a practical value for Ukrainian historians looking for new methodology of historical research.

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Наталія ШЕВЧЕНКО
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"КОЛЕКТИВНІ ПОРТРЕТИ" НОСІЇВ ДЕРЖАВНОЇ ВЛАДИ АНГЛІЇ ПЕРШОЇ ПОЛОВИНИ XVII СТОЛІТТЯ В ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ СУЧАСНИХ БРИТАНСЬКИХ ІСТОРИКІВ

В статті розглядаються нові тенденції у вивченні англійської адміністративної історії перш. пол. XVII ст. в сучасній британській історіографії. Висвітлюється поява так званих "колективних портретів"

англійських парламентаріїв та управлінської бюрократії. Проаналізовано нову техніку дослідження, запропоновану британськими істориками для вивчення соціальних аспектів процесу державного управління Англії першої половини XVII століття та визначено наукову цінність окремих методів, зокрема біографічного методу (просопографії), для історичних досліджень. Простежено перебіг наукових дискусій, що розгорнулися в британській історіографії з приводу комплексного використання нової методики дослідження та виявлення її можливостей для об'єктивного пізнання минулого. Автор показує, що дослідницькі прийоми британських істориків дозволили подати нові інтерпретації характеру політичних процесів в Англії в першій половині XVII століття.

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MYKOLA SUMTSOV'S RESEARCH OF BREAD AND GRAIN SYMBOLISM IN THE FAMILY RITUALS OF UKRAINIANS

The young Ukrainian science of ethnology is going out on its thorny path of self-knowledge and self-research with great difficulties. The crisis of transition period, the crisis of social, ideological, value creeds leave their imprint on processes of scientific work and creative search. However, as the historical experience shows, a truth that was ascertained in hard times stands the test of time and does not even lose its scientific authority, but, on the contrary, strikes by its greatness and courage. That's the very description of Mykola Sumtsov's scientific heritage who was a researcher of encyclopedic knowledge, with a large-scale view on issues, whose contribution to the development of the Ukrainian ethnology can scarcely be overestimated.

Symbolism of bread and grain in the Ukrainian festivals and rituals of family cycle has been already investigated[1]. The objective of the article is to show Mykola Sumtsov's considerations of that issue as he was the first to raise this scientific problem; to elucidate his thoughts, ideas and to compare them with other researchers' hypotheses including the contemporary ones.

Questions on symbolic functions of cereal foods, forms of usage of ritual bread in the family rituals and calendar festivals, ritual poetry occupy a prominent place among Sumtsov's interests. He devoted the separate work to the issue and he obtained a Doctor of Philosophy degree for it[2]. Partially the researcher touched this problem in some of his other searches[3]. Writing the book "Bread in Rituals and Songs" (Khleb v obriadakh i pesniakhh) he worked up a lot of scientific literature. But it was dealt up mostly with general historical questions: the beginning of agriculture on the Slavic lands, problems of the Slavic primitive and ancient history, folk outlook, festivals and customs etc. Meanwhile there was no research that could sum up a lot of information about ritual use of bread at that time. Even later the researchers raised either separate questions[4] or simply described ritual bread and various cases of its usage without deep scientific analysis[5]. Recently several works have been published, the majority of them are articles and their authors investigate different aspects of ritual usage of grain and cereal food in the Ukrainian festivals and rituals both of annual calendar cycle and family one[6].

M.Sumtsov put forward very weighty arguments that among the Slavic peoples the Ukrainians were marked out in the first place because in their wedding celebrations the features of pouring with grain had been preserved completely at the end of 19th century. There was a very interesting custom described by P.Chubynsky, it was held before a bridegroom was going to his bride and was performed as follows: a bench was put in the yard, on it there was a dough-trough covered with a clean towel. On the dough-trough bread and salt were put. Beside the bench there was a bucket of water and a jug. A bridegroom with his boyars (bridesmen) were standing facing the bread. A bridegroom's mother went out of the house, she was wearing a turned out sheepskin coat and a hat. In the hem of her skirt she was carrying oats, nuts, sunflower and pumpkin seeds, coins, she had been saving all these things since the birth of her son. The bridesman gave a rake or a pitchfork to the mother and she mounted it like a horse. The bridesman took the pitchfork and led it round the dough-trough, a boyar hurried "the horse" from behind. At that moment mother was scattering oats. Making three circles, the bridesman led "the horse" to the bucket. The bridegroom imitated watering a horse by ladling out and pouring some water on the end of pitchfork.

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Drawing some water in the jug again the bridegroom passed it to a boyar who tried to throw the jug over his head and break it completely. After that boyars broke the pitchfork (or rake) and threw it away. Referring to the results of P.Chubynsky's expedition the researcher noted that this ritual existed with certain variations in various localities of Ukraine[7].

The Ukrainian ethnographers gave evidence that there was a wide range of manners and customs of grain usage at the Ukrainian wedding. Namely, there were a repeated pouring of newly weds with grain, pouring oats on the cover of a dough-trough, decorating the branch (hiltse) with ears of rye, presence of an unthreshed sheaf at the place of bride and groom, binding of matchmakers with rye straw-bands, pouring grain into the bride's high boot, making a marriage bed on rye sheaves, making the wedding ritual porridge etc. All that use is connected with folk creeds in grain as a reliable means that ensures strength, health of a young couple, prosperity of their farm, strengthening ties of relationship between the two families. However, the creed in the magic power of grain to reproduce life was most forcefully manifested in theses rituals and it was expressed in the formula family-plant-family. In general, usage of grain at the Ukrainian wedding was most completely practiced in the regions of well-developed agriculture, namely, in the central region[8].

On the other hand, Sumtsov noted that the ritual of showering with grain was often connected with road: there was showering with grain before the couple's departure for church, before the bridegroom's departure for the bride's house, before the bride's moving in her husband's house etc[9]. Later the Russian ethnographer L.S.Lavrent'ieva also underlined the very motive of road as the leading one in the rituals of showering with grain[10]. Thus, she stressed that in the wedding rituals, as a rule, the ritual of showering was not held on own territory, but on the borderline "own"–"alien", very often on the most extremely dangerous parts of the road. So, she confirmed M.Sumtsov's idea that usage of grain in the rituals was connected with notion about road, and she added that these rituals marked the beginning as well as the end of the road[11].

Grain is also used in birth customs and a funeral ceremony. The issue of grain and porridge usage in birth customs was partially investigated by my separate article[12]. This article deals with some new aspects. Thus, there was a particular custom in Ukraine when after the child-birth a midwife buried the afterbirth under the stove in the house and strewed that place with rye[13]. Later in the evening the midwife distributed special bunches to everybody present, these bunches included ears of rye or wheat in the winter and periwinkle, basil and guilder-rose in the summer. It was done for health and prosperity of a child[14]. Flax seeds and rye ears are of good help at difficult birth according to folk beliefs. In that case their decoctions were given to the lying-in woman. In 1996 during the ethnographic expedition to the radioactively polluted regions of Polissia which was arranged by the Ministry for Population Protection from the Chornobyl accident consequences the author of the article managed to record recollections about that oats-water made by a midwife and given to a woman in child-birth[15]. The informants gave evidence that the custom was widely practiced in 30 – 40s of 20th century. A midwife also warmed up a woman in child-birth in hot grain to make the child-birth easier. Thus, usage of grain during child-birth was of great practical value and confirmed profound knowledge of the Ukrainians in folk medical care, their experience and skills to practice it.

In the water for a woman in child-birth oats straw was added[16]. Berries of guelder-rose and rye (in the Borzenska Ukraine it was oats[17]) were used in such rituals as zlivki[18] (it means that a woman in child-birth washed midwife's hands).

Data about usage of grain for a child's bath is found also at the end of 20th century: during the field expedition research in the Zhytomyr region occasional recollections about usage of sanctified grain were found, especially rye: "Rye was thrown. That's the sanctified corn standing in the corner, then they knead, knead it and pour that corn under the nappies, and bathe a child then" (it is recorded by the author 19.08.96 in the village of Meleni, Korosten, Zhytomyr Region).

Among other family customs and celebrations usage of wheat grain and bread is typical for a funeral ceremony. In particular, they strewed with grain the bench on which the deceased was lying, they put a funeral candle that was burning the whole night into a glass (jar, bowl) with grain (wheat, rye). When a coffin was carried out of the house, the path to the gate was strewn with grain. In this case it must have played the role of a guard.

Summing up the information about ritual usage of corn in family customs, the ethnographer underlined the fact that wedding celebrations occupied the leading place for completeness of its use. On this basis he made a suggestion that the ancient Slavs used it ritually only at a wedding.

In M.Sumtsov's opinion the ritual usage of grain is closely connected with usage of ritual porridge. He thought the two customs symbolized rain falling to the ground as grain and making it fertile[19].

Ritual porridge is an essential element of the Ukrainian bridal customs. It was cooked from various peeled grains: buckwheat, millet and later barley.

In northern Polissia there was a typical custom of porridge beating that was evidence of the end of the wedding. The porridge was mainly millet or buckwheat. The custom was performed in the following way: on the third day

of the wedding celebrations the wedding guests chipped in making porridge. While the porridge was being cooked in the stove, a cook "sold" it, as a rule, the godfather "ransomed" it. The pot was extracted out of the stove, tied with rushnyky (Ukrainian folk embroided towels) and pulled along the board up to the table where it was smashed. The groomsman "sold" a lump of porridge to all present. In another version the porridge was pulled down along the board on the rushnyk. The groomsman raised and smashed the pot accompanied by a song:

Oh porridge, porridge, our parting.
We were seating together until the pot was smashed,
And as the pot was smashed, we broke up, we home went[20].

The bride sowed lumps of that porridge round the whole farm first and then distributed the rest among the guests. As you see, in this ritual its symbolism is clearly revealed, i.e. to contribute to fertility of every living thing. According to the data of field researches, in the Kyiv Region this custom was still observed in 80s of the last century[21].

Porridge (as a rule, millet) performed a particular role in birth rituals, precisely in christening celebrations[22]. It was called "midwife's porridge". In general, this custom was widely observed in northern regions of Ukraine: in Polissia, partially in Volyn'. It was made by a midwife (string-cutter) and brought to a woman in child-birth. We note that making a porridge was an essential element of midwife's caring for a woman in child-birth.

The main moment of the custom was a ransom of porridge and a smash of a pot. It was done on the table by a rolling-pin or by the corner of the table, or smashed by "tumbling down on the table". In some areas a local custom was fixed to tumble down a pot with porridge twice on the table and only to smash it the third time. All the guests were "haggling" for the right to smash the pot. As a rule, the largest sum of money was donated by the godfather of a child. The pot was also smashed by godparents, a midwife, some of kinsfolk or some of the guests who donated more money. Chiefly making porridge and the accompanied actions were within the competence of midwife. She cooked it at home, brought it decorated with guilder-rose, she was in charge of that porridge. Smashing the pot, the midwife kept saying: "Oh... so that midwife's belly should peel off like the porridge, like the large pot" (field notes of the author). The porridge had to be a stiff mixture to remain intact when the pot was smashed and in order to cut it with a knife. The crocks were put on the heads of the guests as they strongly believed that they contributed to birth of children. The guests took a lump of porridge for their own children. In general, the porridge should be cut and eaten up quickly for the child to toddle quickly. It was also believed that the crocks should be preserved to sow pumpkin from them – "in that case pumpkin seeds will be hard". In all these rituals connection of porridge with idea of fertility, propagation is clearly traced back.

We'd like to note that smashing a pot was an obligatory element of rituals connected with porridge at christening celebrations in Polissia and the Left-bank Ukraine. In L.Artiuch's opinion, in the family celebrations porridge must be a symbol of continuation of genealogy[23]. N.Havryliuk has the same view. To her mind, usage of porridge in birth rituals and celebrations traces back to ancient sacrifice to gods that were patrons of marriage and fertility[24]. K.Cherviak thought that "midwife's porridge" implied not only magic meaning, but it was of legal importance – in that way a newly-born joined his clan and was recognized as a member of his peasant commune[25].

Porridge was a widely spread funeral dish in Ukraine. It was called, in most cases, "kolyvo", also names "kutia", "kanun" were met. In the regions of the Carpathian Ukraine it was made from barley, oatmeal or maize, later from rice. Besides porridge, in this region kolyvo was cooked for a funeral repast, it was a dish of ritual importance composed of well-boiled wheat groans mixed with honey or sugar[26]. In other regions of Ukraine kolyvo was traditionally cooked from wheat groats[27] for a funeral repast, in the Kyiv Polissia particularly from millet or barley. The dish brought up to date is composed of rice, but the components were altered considerably later.

M.Sumtsov explained the wide usage of porridge via its role in ancient times as an object of offering, first and foremost, to earth and the sun that can be traced in some moments of ritual usage. Thus, at the Lemky's wedding celebration the couple threw the porridge behind them[28]. At the christening festivities after the pray simultaneously with lowering and raising a child above the table the child's godfather or godmother repeated the same ritual with porridge. At Christmas the first spoon of kutia (dish composed of boiled wheat groats with raisins, poppy-seed and honey) is tossed up to the ceiling. The first case is an evident example of porridge offering to earth, in M.Sumtsov's opinion. The two others are to the sun.

Comparing with ritual usage of wheat grain and porridge baked bread is a phenomenon of a later stage. However, the ethnographer marked that in quantitative respect it was more complete. The exception is, in some way, birth rituals. The particular features of them are usage of porridge. It bears the main religious and mythical imprint. The ethnographer made a suggestion that in ancient times the ritual porridge was mainly used at birth rituals and was an offering to gods-patrons of marriage and fertility[29]. In this case, the researcher thought, bread

played mainly a custom and legal role. As L.S.Lavrent'eva noted, the following kind of vegetable diet as bread absorbed the whole complex of beliefs connected with grain and food, in general. That's why in ritual actions bread often performed functions of other foods, exactly it substituted them and it resulted in emerging great number of versions of ritual usage of bread[30].

In M.Sumtsov's view, among the Slavic peoples the Ukrainian wedding celebrations can be distinguished due to the level and completeness of ritual usage of bread where it was widely used[31]. In this respect, the first place is occupied by korovai (the wedding bread). The first documentary fixed recollection about it is dated back by the scientist to the beginning of 16th century[32]. Sumtsov marked that the name "korovai" as exclusively the wedding bread was typical only for Ukrainian and Belarusian wedding celebrations. The modern researcher Ya.Schapov investigated that korovai as an essential element of wedding meal existed in the 11th century[33].

In using korovai at the wedding M.Sumtsov distinguished two aspects (well-defined stages): baking and consumption. They have their own meanings and are accompanied by ritual songs different in content. In Ukraine korovai is baked from the best flour, mainly wheat, occasionally from spring-rye. In the ethnographer's view, the characteristic feature of the Bukovina type of traditional Ukrainian wedding celebrations is baking four korovais[34].

The time and place of baking have local versions in Ukraine. Predominantly, it is baked at the wedding eve or on the wedding day at the bride's or groom's place. Exceptionally married women take part in the process of baking a korovai, girls can bake other pastry. The senior korovai-maker is in charge of it. Korovai is put into the oven by the couple who lives in harmony and complete agreement or a man who is characterized as "curly" in songs. Before the korovai is put into the oven they knock at the oven three times. The wedding bread was decorated with branches, various pastry, gilt nuts etc. After it a typical custom with a dough-trough was held: women carried it, raised to the ceiling on their hands, sang the appropriate ritual songs.

The ethnographer stressed the wide usage of the wedding bread. It is an integral part of all stages of the wedding festivities. Bread was essential to make a match, the acceptance of bread was a kind of preliminary agreement to marriage. The guests were invited to the wedding with bread, the couple was blessed by division of bread over their heads. A young daughter-in-law entered her husband's house carrying a loaf of bread in her hands, her mother-in-law met her with bread etc. Among other kinds of wedding pastry at first perepecha (overbaked), kalaches (kind of dough roll), lezhni (lazy-bones), shyshky (cones) were called.

The legal function of korovai is shown up in the custom to bake it only for the first marriage.

The modern ethnology develops more complex structure of the wedding bread. It is distinguished by the time of making, form, decoration, functional importance. On that basis separate types of the wedding pastry and their variations are made out. The consideration of all these peculiarities allowed to divide the Ukrainian wedding ritual bread into four main types. The first one is "korovai" itself, a high round loaf decorated with flowers, cones, pastry birds etc. Besides, on the considerable territory of Ukraine, namely in western and southeastern regions, the wedding bread is baked in the form of a tree or branches and it has the appropriate names – korovai, hiltse (branch), teremok (tower), dyven', divuvannia (girlhood), rizhky (hornlets). Various pastries of right-angled, oblong, plaited forms decorated with periwinkle, guelder-rose, ears of rye or wheat belong to the third type. Their names are the following: kalach, lezhen' (lazy-bones), bat'ko (father), pokrasa (adornment), para (couple), poliubovnyky (sweethearts), great wedding shyshka (cone) etc. Another type is numerous, small kinds of cookies with various names: shyshka, verch, kalachyk, huska (goose), holubka (dove), kachka (duck), sova (owl), borona (harrow).

According to the functional peculiarities the wedding bread is conventionally divided into the following types: bread of matchmaking that symbolizes agreement to marriage or refuse; pastry for inviting guests and giving presents korovaimakers; bread for blessing and greeting the couple; korovai for giving the couple's families as presents and its subtype for bridesmaids; bread for exchanging between the two families and its subtype for "ransoming" the bride; the wedding pastry, intended only for the bride's and the groom's parents and bread for sanctifying the couple's bed[35].

In general, the researcher of the Ukrainian wedding ritual V.Borysenko distinguishes a special so-called "korovai ritual" in its structure[36].

The usage of bread is a characteristic feature of other family rituals. Thus, in the ethnographic works you can come across the data, that at the end of the 19th century in the Nizhyn Ukraine, there was a special kind of bread – loaves (palianatsi), that were cooked for birth festivities. With them the midwife performed magic aiming, first of all, at providing the mother with enough milk[37]. At christening festivities other obligatory cereals foods were rye or buckwheat vareniki (dumplings), buckwheat pancakes. In the Hutsulska Ukraine the ritual bread "kolachiki" was baked for birth festivities[38].

The guests were invited to the birth celebrations with bread, the godfather and godmother used to come with bread. For the christening festivities a midwife baked loaves (palianitsi) and partially took them with herself. The parents thanked the midwife with palianitsi. At Christmas and Easter a woman in child-birth gave to the midwife

"pies", three, five or seven loaves (palianitsi), rolled up in the head-scarf. At holidays children whose births she assisted went to the midwife with kutia, pies, kalaches etc[39].

In the funeral ritual bread was put at the head of the dead, on the cover of coffin etc. It was of an obligatory nature to come to the funeral with some bread: "As a person dies they can't leave without bread"[40]. For the funeral repast (vmerlini) in Polissia special loaves (palianitsi) were baked, they differed in a smaller shape[41]. According to M.Sumtsov's data, in the Pereyasliv region during the movement of funeral procession some of the dead's kinsfolk distributed boubliks (thick ring-shaped rolls), honey pikelets. Particularly, in this sense, a funeral of unmarried youth is marked out. For the funeral ceremony korovai and cones (shyshky) were obligatory baked and divided among all present.

Summing up, we have the right to state that the ethnographer summarized huge factual material about forms of usage of ritual bread and its symbolism, guided by the works of his predecessors and contemporaries, he theoretically substantiated its usage in the family rituals of the Ukrainians, investigated ritual songs connected with bread, determined its religious and mythical function as well as custom and legal importance. The scientific novelty of works "Bread in Rituals and Songs" was that fact that the ethnographer initiated the all-round research of symbolism of bread, grain and farinaceous foods in the festivals and rituals of the Ukrainians.

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Олеся МАНДЕБУРА
Київ

МИКОЛА СУМЦОВ – ДОСЛІДНИК СИМВОЛІКИ ХЛІБА І ЗЕРНА В РОДИННИХ ОБРЯДАХ УКРАЇНЦІВ

Видатний український дослідник Микола Сумцов (1854 – 1922), професор Харківського університету, академік – вчений з енциклопедичними знаннями, масштабним баченням проблеми, чий внесок у розвиток української етнології важко переоцінити. Питання про символічні функції хлібної їжі, форми побутування обрядового хліба в сімейних обрядах та календарних святах українців, пов'язану з ним обрядову поезію посідало чільне місце в наукових інтересах М.Сумцова. Він присвятив цьому питанню окрему працю, за яку йому була присуджена ступінь доктора наук (Сумцов Н. Хлеб в обрядах и песнях. – Харьков, 1885.). Вчений, спираючись на праці своїх попередників та сучасників, узагальнив величезний фактологічний матеріал про форми побутування обрядового хліба та його символіку, теоретично обґрунтував його використання в обрядах родинного циклу українців, дослідив пов'язані з хлібом обрядові пісні, визначив його релігійно-міфічну функцію та звичаєво-правове значення. Дослідник фактично започаткував комплексне дослідження символіки хліба, зерна та борошняних виробів у святах та обрядах українців.

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CELEBRATING FERRAGOSTO IN ITALY (on the Example of Gemona del Friuli)

It is impossible to object to the important function of the transformed folk customs and ceremonies, rituals and holidays even in conditions of the modern postindustrial society, of the urbanized environment. In fact such important components as celebratory and ceremonial clothes, ornaments, musical support, dances, songs, various symbols and attributes which carry out the important aesthetic function, enrich with beauty the world and human soul belong to the celebratory – ceremonial culture[1]. Preservation by Italians of the ancient holidays with medieval processions, horse competitions, regattas of gondolas, magnificent carnivals, a folk music is an essential counterbalance to modern culture (so-called commercial "masscult") which in many respects does not suffice spirituality.

In contrast to the neighbour countries, for example, France, basic units of a cultural life, both in Ancient Rome and in medieval Italy, were cities. In antiquity in Italy there were many settlements of a city type[2]. A city structure that was lost with the decline of Roman empire was revived in the Middle Ages, in particular from 11th century[3]. In the 11th century Italy was already the country of cities where the status of city had more than 300 episcopalian centers, other city settlements – boroughs and castles – were numerous also. Later, in 11 – 13 centuries the Italian cities carried out a huge influence on the development of an agriculture and social structure of the village. The high degree of the urbanization became a prominent feature of Italy already at the end of the early Middle Ages. Strong cities – communes conquered villages by their political authority. Unprecedented blossoming of a city civilization in Italy in 13 – 15th centuries has removed it in the number of the most advanced countries of medieval Europe[4].

The development in the country mainly the city culture has influenced the form of holding holidays. Since times of the Middle Ages many of them began to be held as the grandiose dramatized shows, contests or celebratory processions. They were usually held (and are held today) on the main city square which in this time turns to sports arena, or in the main street of a city[5].

Today in Italy any city, even small, has it's own holiday which has an old, more often agrarian, origin connected to crop or harvesting. With the arrival of Christianity cities and villages have holidays in honour of any saint – the patron: San-Nicola in Bari, San-Gennaro in Naples. The modern researcher Umberto Cordier gives the brief description of more than thousand holidays in different cities[6]. The majority of these holidays are inherent in the whole Italy and Europe, nevertheless each settlement most solemnly celebrates one or two of them.

Medieval August (in Italian Agosto medievale) in Gemona del Friuli, region Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, lasts from August, 1 till August, 18. Gabriella Gavioli marks, that during antique times this celebration lasted all August long[7]. Now the celebration does not last all the 18 days, nevertheless there are approximately 6 holidays in these 2 weeks and a half. They are logically connected between themselves in a uniform cycle with the beginning, the culmination and the end. The main holiday (it is formal so as now in Gemona there are least celebratory actions) is *ferragosto* (in August, 15). This holiday is celebrated all across Italy. Obviously, for Gemona it is patronal festival: it's second, the church name is the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin (Santa Maria Assunta or Assunzione) – coincides with the name of Gemona's cathedral constructed in 11th c. We shall stop in details on its origin and traditions.

As well as the majority of calendar national holidays, ferragosto has agricultural roots. By the nature this is the festive end of the big summer field works. In ceremonies of this day, as well as in other summer holidays, elements of christianity and heathenism have merged.

Church holiday of the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin takes its sources in the first centuries of christianity. The Italian Catholic church celebrates this day with solemn processions.

Spanish ethnographer Gomes Tabanera sees the roots of the holiday of the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin in antique celebrating in honour of the goddess of fertility Demetra. The Italian researchers adhere to the other point

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of view, referring to some echoes of the most ancient ceremonies, and in the main thing, to the name of this holiday that is very much distributed in people – ferragosto.

The origin of this name is such. Ancient Romans solemnly celebrated the ending of a harvest by a holiday of consualiae, devoted to Consus – to the ancient Italian god of the ground and crops[8]. Solemn services were dedicated also to the goddess Diana who sponsored woods, phases of the moon and fertility. In celebrations that were carried out at the Aventin temple, not only free Romans, but also slaves were allowed to take part in the celebration: this day all became equal. Women during all year hanged out inside a temple tablets with records of their vows, devoted to the goddess their own clothes so that their future birth was easy and happy. This day all addressed to Diana with the epithet Lucina, that is the defender of birth. This day Romans glorified also gods of cyclic changes of seasons of the year and fertility – Vortumnus and Opeconsiva. So all celebrations have been devoted to the prosperity and fertility of the nature and the woman[9].

In pre-imperial Rome consualiae fell to the sixth month (year then began with March, it has consisted of 10 months, and there was no January and February in it). AD 27 the Roman senate gave a name of August to Caesar Octavian, and soon one of national tribunes has suggested to name the sixth month in the honour of the emperor – "August". During the celebrating of consualiae it was customary to exchange presents and wishes, saying a sacramental phrase: "Happy consuale holidays!" ("Bonas ferias consuales!"). In honour of August holidays were held ordinarily, but already they were named not consualiae but augustaliae or holidays of August. The emperor during celebrations generously presented people and patricians. Presents usually consisted of money or poultry. Instead of the old formula "Bonas ferias consuales" have started to say: "Bonas ferias augustales!" ("Happy August holidays!"), that then has turned in Italian "Buon Ferragosto!" Our educated Italian contemporaries (for example, the teacher of a history of art Riccardo Buttafava from Parma) know, that *ferragosto* means *ferie d'agosto* (literally – August holidays, rest-dais) nevertheless the majority of people does not think of an origin of the name of this holiday.

In the first centuries of christianity heathen consualiae have been replaced by the Christian holiday of the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin[10]. This tradition has come from the East: during this period the Great Mother was praised, she was the Syrian goddess Atagartis. She was half woman, half fish and was considered as the patroness of fertility and field works. This function later was transferred to the Madonna in the first centuries AD. A fact that can be a confirmation of this connection is that today in Armenia in the day of the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin clusters of grapes are sanctified.

In Jerusalem the holiday of the Assumption of the Sacred Virgin began to celebrate from AD 4th c. in a church where as it was thought, Sacred Mary has been buried. The emperor Maurizio has distributed the celebrating to the whole empire. However originally this event was marked under the name of Death or Maria's Death and did not contact actually with the Assumption, being limited to representations about imperishability of Maria's body. Only in 18th c. Pope Pio XII has proclaimed a church dogma about the Assumption of Maria[11].

Nevertheless the new religious environment has not deprived the holiday of its folk character. Since popular parades and games alternated and mixed up with sacred actions. As before, the ceremonies of an exchange of presents and a distribution of the tip that have lived up to our days were kept.

In many ceremonies that carry out in the day of ferragosto – the Assumption, it is easy to find out traces of ancient agricultural cults. It is possible to attribute to them a present of the first crop to sacred Maria that occurs still both in Italy, and in other European countries. The rural processions that are still held in some districts of the central and southern Italy have the same connection with the most ancient agrarian cults have. So, in Castelbaronia (area Basilicata) the procession is formed from girls whose heads are decorated with flowers. They accompany "the queen of a grain", crowned with a garland of ears. In Casacanditelli (area Abruzzi) during a procession girls and women bear on their heads baskets filled with wheat, that are also decorated with flowers and a basil. In Tuse (Sicily) peasants on donkeys carry the first collected crop into a church.

Before the celebration of ferragosto there is a fortnight fast. In Sicily believers who address for a favour to Madonna, do not eat even fruits. Upon the termination of a fast it is necessary to send baskets with pears, apples, peaches, figs, grapes and others fruits to friends, girlfriends, and in particular to one's betrotheds[12].

All ceremonies that once were carried out in the day of consualiae, today are not known, but in olden times some ritual actions with water, fire or greens were connected with this holiday. In fact Consus was the god of the ground and crops and ancient Romans aspiring to achieve his protection, could carry out such ceremonies. Some moments of the celebration of ferragosto in Middle Ages and even in our time are possible to be considered as their vestige[13].

For modern Gemona, as it was said above, the Assumption or ferragosto is the least solemn holiday among August's holidays. It is simply the day off when nobody works, only coffee-houses and bars are opened only. Some establishments are closed during all the week on which falls August, 15. Many people this day visit the relatives (keeping ancient tradition of an exchange of presents) who live in other cities. Nevertheless, in contrast

to Easter, it is not necessary for a family to get together. A solemn mass is serving in church of that the priest reminds parishioners on the last divine service on Sunday before August, 15.

The basic celebrations of medieval August in Gemona are connected with the opening of the holiday, that is with the first dates, and also with the election of Dama Castellana that occurs on the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin – in August, 14. Last holiday, by the way, is also the culmination of all August's cycle in Gemona – the guidebook on Italian holidays by Umberto Cordier in the section "Gemona del Friuli. Agosto medievale" describes only this holiday[14].

The name "Medieval August" is connected to the character of the holiday – in these days medieval city culture of Gemona revives (though some city dwellers think about it skeptically: "...There is nothing from the Middle Ages here, suits are rather stylized"[15]). Town districts (in Italian "borghi" or "borgate", their names till now can be seen near to the arms on guide signs, nevertheless they do not appear any more in the administrative sense) for this time return the former value to themselves. Everyone who wishes to take part in a procession, goes to a premise of Gemona's Mountain society (Comunità montana gemonese) and receives the skillfully made attributes: medieval clothes, flags, tambourines, carriages, etc. It is necessary to specify also, that except for several holidays that have medieval character and which actions are developed in historical town centre – in the street Bini and on the square near a cathedral, all 18 days nearby lasts outdoor fete in modern way. On Piazza del Ferro a stage and kiosks with traditional friulian and modern foods are arranged, some little tables and chairs are placed. The invited Italian groups from other places execute modern and also ball Latin-American and European music; youth and older persons have an opportunity to dance. During the August, 10 – 18, kiosks, a stage and benches are placed on one square, Piazza del Rocco, where act not only Italian, but also foreign groups. All these three areas, epicentres of the holiday, are so close to each other, that in the centre of the city it is possible to hear the music from everywhere. Therefore spectators easily can move to choose the better. Nevertheless the traditional character has only "medieval" action in the street Bini and in the next streets, the other centers are modern discos that for an ethnographer represent not enough interest so they have a little original, actually Italian things. It is difficult to say, where gathers more people – and not only from Gemona: in the evenings all parkings are filled with machines of inhabitants of surrounding places – everyone chooses what he likes. The main thing is that contrary to indignation of inhabitants of the center who because of noise under windows cannot easy fall asleep for three weeks, in many Italians the need of their far ancestors, the Romans, is alive: "Panem et circenses" (bread and shows).

And so, we shall come back by a medieval holiday. First three days in the evening if it is already dark, from Gemona's Mountain society the procession of people dressed up in medieval suits leaves. Along the street Bini down to the Cathedral the attracted spectators observe this cortege (corteo) – here are representatives not only from Gemona's community and surrounding towns, but from the whole region Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, even from its capital – Trieste. Someone bears the arms of each commune before it. There is a number of players tambourines (to beat out a complex rhythm – it is the whole art, and it is different in each commune, it is necessary not to get off though it is audible the beat of drummers of other communes) and standard-bearers. The standard-bearers don't simply bear the flags. All standard-bearers of one commune synchronously swing them and throw them highly in air too. This is an old kind of the art. It is possible to observe similar shows with flags not only during the procession, but also later, on the squares, after the election of Dama Castellana, etc. The tradition to begin a holiday by processions led by respected people of the city occurs still from Ancient Rome[16]. Gentlemen and ladies in suits of medieval feudal lords finish each procession. A small orchestra of folk musical instruments – a pipe, a drum, some tambourines and bagpipes plays. A jester in a cap with three long brushes plays with a little dog, behind him a man pulls a carriage and so on...

Having passed the cathedral square, maskers stop around it. The respectable seigneur says a speech which comes to the end with words in Latin from a bell tower of a cathedral: "Imperabis mundum, tempus est jocundum" – and from both sides of a bell tower the sky is shined with fires of fireworks. The medieval procession in the same order, as well as it has come, to the beat of tambourines goes away from the square, leaving it for the performance of standard-bearers of one of communes.

In the meantime the evening town is immersed in Middle Ages. All lanterns are switched off, torches and candles are ablaze, on the cathedral square is the fire in the boiler. Many shops work (usually in such late time they are already closed). The action is developed on each of nearby to the street Bini streets or squares. Two jesters show circus items, play with spectators. Two monks-alchemists (a pater-magister and a frater) "conjure" on chemical preparations that "wonderfully" change color, making people who have gathered laugh, with the italized Latin (that is to the Italian words add the Latin endings: -us, -um, -am. (for example "Adessum facemum terzum experimentum"). All dramatic personae are dressed in medieval attires, everywhere – "baracche", "botteghe artigiane". That is an imitation of fine medieval craft and trade: a smith forges the heated iron, a gunsmith makes a chain arm, women make long plaits from a grass, a woman sells products from a tree, tops, short thick candles, etc., a man sells the swords, the stylized weapon.

Before ferragosto, in the evening of August, 14, on Piazza del Ferro occurs solemn “Proclamazione della dama castellana”, that is choice of the lady – mistress of the castle. Some inhabitants of Gemona approve, that before an earthquake in 1976 has destroyed the medieval castle, the specified ceremony (as well as the actions dated for opening of medieval August) was carried out in the castle – hence the name “castellana” (from Italian “castello” – the castle). By the way, if the cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin that was also destroyed by the earthquake, has been built up after the accident with the support of the commune and by the work of the majority of town’s men rather quickly, as well as apartment houses. The restoration of the castle that began also at the end of 1970th, ten years ago was suspended because of the lack of means.

The essence of ceremony consists in the game in checkers (“dama” in Italian – both a checker and a lady) between representatives of two districts of a small town. As total the number of boroughs is rather big (they are eight), at first among all the districts a man selects those two that will compete this year. And districts that took part last year, are supposed to be in a toss-up: borough Gois that has won in 2002, successively has been celebrating a victory the third year.

Two men play checkers on a usual chess board and so all present can see the game, on a black-and-white stage the representatives of two districts dressed in white and black (pedini and dame), recreate their runs. Accordingly, the girl-representative of a borough that has won, is solemnly proclaimed as “the mistress of the castle”(Dama Castellana), a garland is put on her head, two girls from both boroughs get bouquets of flowers. For the period of one year, up to the following game in checkers, Dama Castellana receives keys of the town from the hands of Gemona’s mayor. Certainly, all this is only nominally, nevertheless in olden times, obviously, there were true keys of a town gate, in fact, as all medieval towns, Gemona del Friuli has been surrounded with a wall. It is necessary to specify, that the person of “Dama Castellana” is not an important person but she is simply the inhabitant of district that has won. The honour to hold the keys of the town is given to the district, but not to one girl. Ceremony comes to the end with a solemn leaving the stage by the dressed up people in medieval attire. They are representatives of several boroughs, among them the first are those two who took part in game this year. As well as in the first days of Medieval August, standard-bearers and drummers of each district are the first. The beat of tambourines was heard during all game.

As it was said above, in Gemona del Friuli its own ferragosto, in August, 15, is not accompanied by shows and actions in medieval spirit. Performances of modern groups and dances still last till August, 18 on Piazza del Ferro and Piazza San Rocco, and in the morning of August, 19 everything is clean, a stage is disassembled, chairs are carried away, flags are removed and Gemona again gets an every day kind[17]. A similar action in medieval way will be developed here in a half-year, for the holiday of Epifania on January, 6. The transferring by the mayor of the town of a silver thaler to the priest of the cathedral is the main ritual of this day. U.Cordier thinks that it symbolizes the transferring of authority from the terrestrial power to spiritual[18]. That is for this holiday the Christian tradition has imposed the much greater influence, than to ferragosto as the second name of this holiday, the Assumption the Virgin, is much less common in people, and its main actions are developed not in a cathedral, but in streets and the squares of a town.

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[18] Cordier U. Guida alle sagre… – P. 125.

Наталія РОЗИНКА
Київ

СВЯТКУВАННЯ ФЕРРАГОСТО В ІТАЛІЇ (на прикладі містечка Джемона дель Фріулі)

В статті розглядається святкування в наші дні феррагосто (церковна назва – Успіння Пресвятої Богородиці) в Італії на прикладі містечка Джемона дель Фріулі (область Фріулі-Венеція-Джулія). В Стародавньому Римі це свято мало назву консуалії, пізніше – августалії. В Джемоні в наші дні найврочистішим є не саме свято феррагосто (15 серпня), а перші та останні дні "Середньовічного серпня" (така збірна назва усіх святкувань, що проводяться 1 – 18 серпня). Одягання стилізованих під середньовіччя костюмів, музика, прапори, тамбурини, змагання, жарти тощо засвідчують небайдужість італійців до своєї прадавньої культури, стійкість традицій та нетлінне прагнення людей до яскравих видовищ і розваг.

Ihor POSHYVAILO
Kyiv

FOLKLORE FESTIVALS IN UKRAINE – GUARDIANS OF TRADITIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE (Historical and Ethnologic Aspects)

The folklore heritage of Ukrainians is considered to be an important constituent of the world cultural treasury. It has not only an outstanding historic, but artistic value. Folk wisdom accompanied man from his very first steps. It came served as one of the world perception in primeval man's life, as an organic component of his beliefs and outlooks. It has been preserved into present, experiencing the metamorphoses of various layers of time, but preventing the magic of word and melody. By origin, it is as old as primitive cave drawings and artifacts with mysterious ornamental signs.

When considering the role of folklore in society, it should be stressed that calendar-ritual songs documented the existence of a system of magic rites, of a world outlook and of complex rituals in Ukrainian folklore during pre-Christian times. Particularly, Ukrainian Christmas and New-Years songs are unique. Ukrainian polyphonic songs are considered to be a phenomenon of group folk singing. Ukrainian folklore as a system of cultural symbols, reflects all spheres of ethnic, cultural and social life, as well as all stages of human life from birth to death[1]. Because folklore in different periods of ethnic history served as a kind of a spiritual bridge between the past and the present – a reliable orientation-point for the future – so it can be accepted as an objective criterion for cultural identity, an attributive form of ethnic consciousness. Therefore, the serious analysis of traditional folklore systems, although greatly transformed by time, and archaic, traditional and modern phenomena, is of a great importance today.

It should be also noted, that systematic research and fixation of folklore phenomena started relatively late in Ukraine. This considerably complicates the reconstruction of ancient folklore traditions and is responsible for considerable loss in the research of this unique sphere of traditional culture.

There is another problem – a problem of popularisation of folklore and traditional culture among young people, as the ancestors' intangible culture is not "put to sleep by dust" legends, folk stories, folk songs and dances, instrumental folk music, but the high skilled folk art, artistic creativeness, that have not lost their pathos and meaning up till present, and that is why can not remain beyond attention of contemporary society. This is what the folklore festivals attempt to represent basing on the conception that folklore in its ancient relics most completely displays spiritual and material cultures of peoples.

In the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (Paris, 1989) it was noted the extreme fragility of the traditional forms of folklore, that constitute a part of the universal heritage of humanity and is a powerful means of bringing together different peoples and social groups and of asserting

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their cultural identity. Concerning this it was stressed the need in all countries for recognition of the role of traditional culture and the danger it faces from multiple factors.

And what is the situation concerning this problem in Ukraine? To start with, it should be mentioned that for the last decade high rates of traditional culture's decline are fixed in Ukraine, as its authentic carriers are indefatigably departing. As it was justly stressed by Mrs. Aikawa on the Opening of the Danube International Folklore Festival in 1996, the bearers of the intangible cultural heritage, living in the turmoil of rapid globalisation are fighting against the prevailing tendency of standardisation of culture in attempt to maintain their local specificity[2]. Taking into account both absence of appropriate state policy in this field and changing of values orientations of the society, the original phenomena of Ukrainian national culture, which make considerable part of the world cultural heritage, are not succeeded and are lost forever. In such conditions, there is no complex data bank on basic forms of traditional culture and folklore in Ukraine: folk art, songs, music, dance, theatre, games, mythology, rituals and customs, handicrafts etc. It is not actually much known about traditional culture of other peoples of the world in Ukraine. Effective partnership in this field between profile establishments of Ukraine, Central and West European countries has not been established yet. Experts on Ukrainian traditional culture in conditions of language barriers and information blockade are deprived of professional training and creative contacts with their foreign colleagues.

Therefore, attention of people and the state should be drawn to the new activities in safeguarding traditional culture and folklore, which are not limited by out-dated communists norms and dogmatic approaches, but effectively function and influence the development of cultural processes, satisfy spiritual and aesthetic needs of society, corresponding to requirements of the new time. As it was precisely remarked in 1998 by Federiko Mayor, Director General of UNESCO: “the defence of human values is more important than anything else... and all our spiritual energy must be used to improve the quality of life of humankind”[3].

An important role in drawing attention towards solution of the above-mentioned problems is given to organising of folklore festivals as an important index of present state of folklore and traditional culture, as a method of propagation of various forms of cultural heritage, mutual understanding and enriching of different ethnic cultures. The latter is especially important, as Ukraine, being a homoethnic type of state, hosts 128 peoples and ethnic minorities that preserve their national identity. Everyone will absolutely agree with Dr. Mihaly Hoppal, a Director of the European Folklore Institute (Budapest, Hungary), who maintains, that “the organising of festivals offers an excellent opportunity to show the values of local traditions and for various nations to get to know each other's culture”[4].

Folklore festivals in Ukraine are a comparatively new phenomenon, which followed gaining of state independence by Ukraine and the development of national revival movement. The main goal of such festivals became aspiration to realise the depths of national cultural heritage, to define its real state after centuries of empire domination. Organisers of the festivals look forward firstly to represent folklore and ethnographic heritage of Ukrainians as complete as possible, to draw attention to the problem of collecting, recording and popularisation of folklore and traditional art. Presentation of authentic folklore traditions by recreation means of ritual singing, rites of calendar circle, creative interpretation of folklore of different ethnic regions of Ukraine are among significant tasks of the folklore festivals. Among concrete objectives of the folklore festivals also are to make active public interest in the cultural heritage of Ukraine and other peoples of the world, to stimulate educational processes and creativeness of the youth in the field of folklore and to promote formation of authentic directions of the modern traditional culture development. It is hoped that the successful realisation on the folklore festivals movement will help to obtain a regular and concentrated media for the communication of general and specific ideas and knowledge about traditional culture of different peoples and nations, to work out a new approach and thinking on various aspects of traditional culture and folklore as important part of social development and intercultural communication, to impart experience and to foster professional contacts among scientists, artists and craftsmen engaged in the field of traditional culture.

Overall, more than 50 various musical festivals of national and international levels take part in Ukraine annually. Folklore festivals constitute an important part of them. They are supplemented with a considerable variety of folklore and ethnographic activities on local levels, forums and amateur art festivals, folk and children art creativeness, dancing festivals and festivals of decorative art. Folkfests in Ukraine used to be of the two basic statuses: national (festivals of Ukrainian folklore, folklore of Ukrainians ethnic groups) and international (festivals of Ukrainian folklore, folklore of ethnic minorities of Ukraine and other peoples of the world).

In 1996, the General Assembly of International Council of Organisations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Art granted Ukraine a full membership. Today due to CIOFF, activities in Ukraine about 35 folklore groups from all regions represent Ukraine on international folklore CIOFF festivals abroad. Under CIOFF auspices four international folklore forums regularly take place in Ukraine, namely: International Folklore Festival “Polissian Summer With Folklore” and International Festival of Ukrainian Folklore “Berehynia” in Luts'k, International Slavonic Folklore Festival “Koliada” in Rivne and International Folklore Festival “Guelder Rose Summer on Dnieper River” in Komsomol's'k.

Most active in performing folklore festivals are the western regions of Ukraine – those historic-ethnographical territories, which are characterised by polyethnic structure and relatively high level of folklore traditions preservation. Let us generally look round some basic folklore festivals in Ukraine.

To begin with, Luts'k (administrative centre of Volyn Region) has become one of the most important folklore centres in Ukraine. International Festival “Polissian Summer with Folklore”, being performed here from 1994, is a kind of artistic visit-card of the city. This large scale performance annually hosts folklore groups from not less than five countries of the three continents. General audience of the festival composes of approximately 120 thousand people. A famous International Folklore Festival “Berehynia” is also held in Lutsk.

Each January the capital of Rivne Region hosts an International Slavonic Folklore Festival “Koliada”, in which folklore groups from Ukraine, Byelorussia, Russia and countries of Eastern and Central Europe participate. The festival program includes contests of singing groups and Vertep dramas, Christmas exhibitions, concerts of folklore groups. The Festival has a concrete thematic orientation, namely – Christmas feasts, although it is not limited by it.

International Youth Festival of Traditional Culture “Drevliansky Sources” took place in Rivne on August 24 – 26, 2001. Folklore groups from Canada, France, Latvia, Turkey, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Russia, Moldavia, Byelorussia, England, Austria and many regions of Ukraine participated in it. The main aim of this festival was promotion of encouraging of deep comprehension, preservation and popularisation of folklore, cultural traditions among children and young people; finding out of common sources of folk creativity, gaining of mutual understanding between the youth from different countries.

International Folklore Festival “Guelder Rose Summer on Dnieper River” became traditional for Komsomolsk (Poltava Region) from 2000. This town in Central Ukraine gathers bright and original groups from three continents under directorate of the International Festival “Polissian Summer with Folklore”. Folklore groups from USA, China, Finland, Poland, Byelorussia, Georgia and Ukraine perform on squares of Komsomol's'k.

Yalta Annual International Folklore Festival is directed on acquaintance with culture and art of different peoples in the world; exchange of folk traditions, best samples of national singing and dance, demonstration of national costume. This festival was founded in 1999. Its main goal is an exchange of cultural experience between countries of the world, developing of prestige for the national cultural traditions. This festival brightly displays the fact that ancestor's traditions are kept hitherto in contemporary musical culture and will not vanish due to care of their descendants.

Idea of presentation of unique folklore of Bukovyna Region – a small multinational Carpathian region with rich cultural and religious mosaics – is realised by International Folklore Festival “Bykovyna Meetings”. This festival, increasing the range of its participants, has become an arena for presentation of art of all ethnic groups of the region: Ukrainians, Romanians, Jews, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Armenians, Russians, and Gypsies. The main goal of this festival is presentation of cultural and social phenomenon of Bukovyna as “Europe in miniature” with its multicultural system of values, based on mutual understanding, respect and tolerance, centuries-old good neighbourly relations between different ethnic groups of the region.

Highlanders from Ivano-Frankivs'k Region, Trans-Carpathia, Bukovyna, Romania, descendants from the Carpathians, who dwell in Poland, Australia, Canada and Great Britain, annually meet each other on its main forum – International Gucul Folklore-Ethnographic Festival. Such festivals are being held since 1991 in different cultural centres of Guzul region: in towns and villages of Verhovyna, Rahiv, Vyzhnytsia, Putyla, Yaremcha, Kosiv, Nadvirna, Kolomyia, Ivano-Frankivs'k. Folklore groups from not only Gucul area, but from all over Ukraine, as well as from Romania, Poland, Moldova, countries of Western Europe, USA, Canada take part in the contest program.

In 2001 International Festival of Ethnographic Regions of Ukraine “Rodoslav” was founded in Ivano-Frankivs'k in order to carry out a powerful consolidating cultural and artistic action that should accumulate masterpieces of Ukrainian intangible heritage spread all over the world and based on authentic folklore of different ethnographic groups. According to conception of the “Rodoslav” festival, its main goals are promotion of revival and preservation of traditions and customs of Guzul, Boiky, Lemky, Pokutiany, Opiliany, Bykovyntsi, Volyniany, Podoliany, Polishchucs, Slobozhany, and Cuban Cossacks.

Lemky, disseminated all over the world, up till now have known only three traditional folkfests named “Vatras”, held in Poland and Slovakia. Finally, Lemky in Ukraine got their artistic forum – Festival of Lemky Culture “Lemkys Vatra”, that for the first time took place in June 1999 in Hutysko – a picturesque place of Berezhany (Ternopil Region). Previously only regional festivals were organised there. The second “Vatra” (2000) took place in this small town and the third (2001) – in Monastyrysk (Ternopil' Region), where the most of settlers from Lemkivshchyna live.

Folk groups from Poland, Romania and Ukraine by demonstration of its artistic skills and own folklore heritage attempt to set a bridge in time and space between technocratic historic realities on the annual International Folklore Festival in Chernivtsi, founded in 1991. Last year this city hosts the Folklore Festival “Fathers Thresholds”.

International Folklore Festival “Seven Cultures” takes place in Kamianets'-Podilskii – one of the oldest cities in Ukraine. Idea of this festival was born not by chance. For a long time this territory was settled by seven nationalities: Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Lithuanians and Turks.

L'viv Festival “Horytsvit” was initiated as a folklore festival. It was the only TV-festival in Ukraine aimed at popularisation of Ukrainian traditional art. Afterwards it was transformed into the festival of Ukrainian song.

Ukrainian-Polish Folklore Festival “Roztochia” aims to develop Ukrainian-Polish cultural co-operation and to foster educational and cultural activities within Polish communities in Ukrainian Roztochia. Contests of authentic, children's, popular and spiritual songs are included in the festival's program.

Situated deep in mountains the Trans-Carpathian village of Kolochava is gradually becoming more famous in Czech Republic than in Ukraine. It is being transformed into a centre of Czech culture in Ukraine due to Ukrainian-Czech Folklore Festival in Kolochava. Idea of carrying out this festival was born in August 1997.

Kyiv became the second capital of folklore festivals in Ukraine. The Museum of Folk Architecture and Mode of Life of Ukraine organises original Folklore-Ethnographic Festivals in Pyrohovo twice a year (in autumn and spring). This popular forum unites craftsmen, folk artists and authentic folklore groups from different regions of Ukraine in order to propagandise traditional folk culture of Ukrainians. From last year folklore festival of national minorities “Folklorama” take place there. The Ukrainian Centre for Traditional Culture “Ivan Honchar Museum” also organise several folk art festivals and fairs annually.

In August 1991, the First World Festival of Folklore Groups of Ukrainian Diaspora took place in Kyiv. It was devoted to 100-anniversary of Halicians emigration to America. Folklore groups from USA, France, and Poland participated in the festivities. Organisation of the suchlike festivals is extraordinarily perspective, as folklore of Ukrainian emigration, in which dynamic and transformation processes are traced back especially vividly, is an important constituent of Ukrainian folklore.

In October 1999 Kyiv hosted Festival of Arts of Ukrainian Ethnic Lands and Diaspora under motto “A song will mark the borders” by initiative of the Society “Ukraine-World”. The concert program covered old, little-known song and music compositions preserved on Ukrainian ethnic lands, as well as popular Ukrainian folk songs. The concert displayed regional variety of Ukrainian traditional culture on ethnic lands (Lemkivshchyna, Kuban, Pidliashia, Marmorshchyna and others), and showed how folk song tradition influences professional creativeness of Ukrainian Diaspora composers.

First Festival “Kyiv Rus’ – Continuation of Traditions” took place in Kyiv in July 2001. Its basic aim was presentation of Ukrainian authentic folklore, kobza and lira players' tradition.

Quite a notable event of Kyiv folklore holidays in 2000 was a First International Gypsy Festival “Amala”, organised by the State Gypsy Musical and Dramatic Theatre “Romance” in co-operation with local authorities, state committees, private and public foundations.

South-Eastern industrial regions of Ukraine are not so active in organising of folklore festivals that is caused by a number of cultural, historical, social and political peculiarities of this regions development. From time to time, some local folklore holidays take part there. For example, in August 2001 an International Folklore Festival was organised together with Dutch partners in Slovianohors'k (Donetsk Region). This year Luhans'k State Pedagogic University in co-operation with music faculty of the North-Kentucky University (USA) realises a joint project – International Folklore Festival “Luhans'k. Muses Holiday”.

So, organizing of folklore festivals on different levels proves that despite various time, territorial, social and cultural collisions Ukrainian folklore in its modified and reduced form still continues its functioning in everyday and sacral life of the nation. Notwithstanding considerable losses and constrictions of folklore sphere, changes of its dominants and significance in society we can accept it relatively high level of preservation and functioning of separate folklore genres in present-day Ukraine. Level of preservation of authentic Ukrainian folklore is not homogeneous. In its archaic ritual forms, it is mostly well-kept in North-Western regions of Polissia, Volyn, in Carpathians, in separate regions of Central Dnieper River Basin. In industrial regions of South East (Kharkiv, Zaporizhia, Dnipropetrovs'k, Odessa regions) prevails non-ceremonial folklore.

Territorial and landscape variety in Ukraine influenced variation of folklore local styles. Formation of Ukrainian folklore was greatly influenced by ethnocultural relations with neighbouring peoples: Russians and Byelorussians on north-east, Moldavians, Romanians and Bulgarians on south, Poles, Slovaks and Hungarians on west. A village was an epicentre of folklore development and functioning. Urban folklore appeared considerably later and took its separate place in traditional system. Destroying of village in communist period resulted in considerable losses and modifications of the folklore phenomena. Totalitarian regime by its genocide policy exterminated a considerable part of authentic folklore barriers substituted it by 'social realism' creativity. Therefore, by annihilation of Ukrainian state considerable treasures of Ukrainian folklore culture have vanished as well. No wonder that for Ukrainian people the folklore and traditional culture were important as organic manifestations of its spiritual and ideological life. According to Prof. Volodymyr Shayan, the notable Ukrainian scientist of the mid 20th century from London, new

age of Ukrainian revival begins with conscious studying and comprehension of the treasures of Ukrainian folklore[5].

Holding of folklore festivals in Ukraine certifies once again an oldness of that homogeneous ethnic environment in which it was formed during a long historic period. We can speak about common historic basis, social and political development, national idea of sovereignty and statehood for all genres of Ukrainian folklore. Pieces of folklore mostly reflect and carry into present the antiquity of our ancestors in all manifestations of social, political and cultural spheres. Ukraine, unlike some of other European countries, has preserved profound sources of authentic folk culture, which has always been a rescue for professional culture and generated a total artistic talent of the nation[6].

Summarising, it should be mentioned, that folklore festivals, which aim to revive authentic folklore sources and to be an efficient guardian of the living human treasures, convincingly certify: “songs from old chest” – is not a tribute to nostalgia, but quite a pragmatic form of resistance to the negativeness of show-globalisation as a new form of neo-colonialism. Folklore festivals may be treated as a unique way of discovering of the richness of traditional culture and folklore in its multinational measuring, propagating separate regions as examples of possible existence, mutual understanding and fruitful co-operation among various nationalities attached to simultaneous preservation of their cultural and national identity.

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Ігор ПОШИВАЙЛО
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ФОЛЬКЛОРНІ ФЕСТИВАЛІ УКРАЇНИ: НА СТОРОЖІ ТРАДИЦІЙНОЇ КУЛЬТУРНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ (історико-етнологічні аспекти)

Український фольклор як система культурних символів відображає важливі сфери духовного та соціального життя етносу, позначає циклічні віхи людського життя від народження до смерті. У різні періоди фольклор – значима складова традиційної культури – поставав духовним містком між минулим і сьогоденням, дієвим орієнтиром у прийдешнє, а отже, може трактуватися як об'єктивний критерій культурної ідентичності, визначальною формою етнічної свідомості. Відтак комплексне дослідження традиційної культури, значно трансформованої часово-просторовими та історичними реаліями, явищами архаїчними та модерновими, є важливим завданням сьогоденної етнології. При цьому слід враховувати, що систематичне фіксування та студіювання етнічних фольклорних феноменів розпочалося відносно нещодавно в Україні, що значно ускладнює реконструкцію давніх фольклорних традицій і позначається на значних втратах у вивченні нашої культури.

У відповідних рекомендаціях міжнародних організацій стосовно збереження традиційної культури і фольклору (зокрема, ЮНЕСКО, 1989) акцентується надзвичайна вразливість традиційних форм фольклору, що становить частку світової спадщини людства, і вказується на необхідність державного визнання ролі традиційної культури та небезпеки з боку різноманітних факторів сьогодення. Організація фольклорних фестивалів у даному контексті видається однією із форм, що визнані на міжнародному рівні як засіб виявлення національних традицій і цінностей задля подальшого дослідження, популяризації та збереження.

Фольклорні фестивалі в Україні – явище відносно нове, яке виникло із здобуттям України державної незалежності на хвилі національного відродження і досі не відображене у наукових студіях. Загальний огляд основних фольклорних фестивалів України, їх тенденції та перспективи, значення в подальшому розвиткові культурних традицій нації, подається у цій розвідці.

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THE TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF UKRAINIANS AS AN ETHNIC-PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPT

For the purpose of creating a theoretical model in the research of ethnic-psychological peculiarities of the Ukrainians we ought to turn to the traditional, ethnic-pedagogical system of education. Without studying the social and cultural environment of the family and directions of the "interiorization" (or incorporation) of social and normative attitudes, it is hard to comprehend the mechanism of "enculturation" (psychological anthropologists consider enculturation to be the process of becoming competent in one's culture. In contrast to socialization which usually applies to the childhood years, enculturation is thought of as continuing throughout one's life)[1] or the intergenerational transmission of culture which represents the instrument of creating the habits which meet the demands of the social environment and which her informs social roles and social interactions.

From the view of anthropologists who consider man as a culturally and determined person, a basic problem of human life is the safety and continuity of various cultural models and their transmission from generation to generation during socialization. In this respect, researching the system of social (sexual) and age stratification of traditional Ukrainian society as original cultural and normative stages of a vital cycle, principle attention should be granted to the so called "child culture" that is a composing part of the whole nation. The necessity of the conceptual trying to understand this cultural construction lies in the fact that "by the way, we have to do not only with the imitation of today's culture of adult, but to deal with the traditional possessions which are transferred to children from generation to generation"[2].

No wonder that the transmission mechanisms of ethnic-cultural information on example of the traditional system of education were given considerable attention by the scientists of the Ukrainian diaspora, such as: Kulchytsky, Vaschenko, Hryhoryiv and others. In particular, Vaschenko in his work "The ideal of education" is using cultural and normative approach to the study of national disposition which contains comparative description of the certain cultural configurations, typical for variety of societies. One of his tasks was also to study the upbringing process in the Ukrainian families. In his turn, B.Tsymbalisty, the diaspora's researcher of the ethnic-psychological problems of the Ukrainians stresses that the influence of culture on individual disposition, on mentality, on man's temper exerts during his early years of existence through the family which reproduces cultural environment of given ethnic group and the method of family upbringing, forming the certain features of national disposition (fathers come forward in the role of the original transmitters of the traditional and custom models and the norms of behaviour of the Ukrainian nation).

Together with the introjection of the original family environment the certain system of values is acquired by the unconscious child. Later cultural influences mostly exert on the surface of psychics. From this point of view the national disposition is a product of a given culture and, simultaneously, being personified by its carrier and the succesor of cultural traditions and norms in the future generations. Usually, in its individual display the national disposition is also caused by the concrete inheritance of man that determines certain abilities, its former experience, as well as social environment. Aggregate of these factors provides the personal form and level of assimilation of available culture"[3].

The investigations of Ruth Benedict concerning the disposition of the Japanese and Margaret Mead – about Bali inhabitants confirmed the thought about those cultural influences which are transmitted with the help of families and formed the mentality and people's temper. The traits typical for given ethnic community are caused by the spirit of family which itself is determined by the whole social structure and cultural community[4].

The national disposition is caused by the method of family upbringing which a man gets from his first years. Besides, the national temper comes forward as the original personification of culture of given ethnic (national community) and as the embodiment of specific world outlook on traditional being in ambient world, as well as the reflection of ethnic-cultural disposition in the shape (dichotomy) of "we-they" under the circumstances of permanent social and cultural interactions with other ethnic communities.

With the aim to comprehend the role of traditional system of education and domestic life, B.Tsymbalisty applies to the structure of the Ukrainian family, the peculiarity of which is in (as the scientists stresses) important

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role of woman. This specifically reflected in the Ukrainian folklore and in the Ukrainian religiousness. It is to mother that deep love and even pietism of her children during all their life are addressed. Even Ukraine most frequently is mentioned under this symbol: “Mother-Ukraine”, “Mummy-Ukraine”. It is mother who overwhelmingly participates in education of her children. In B.Tsymbalisty opinion, father only from time to time interferes in the punishment of a child that’s why a child identifies himself chiefly with his mother, inheriting conduct norms typical for womanish consciousness and moral disposition. It means the womanish origin in the Ukrainian national disposition which produced mental features such as: “cordocentrism” of the Ukrainian temper” which forms the prevailing of emotional origin over rational and volitional ones, which, in its turn, causes the lack of resoluteness in achieving the global creation aim to have an own state and influences on the attitude of the Ukrainians to the authority in general[5].

B.Tsymbalisty this fact interprets the way that the father most frequently comes forward as the punitive factor or as the retributive instance; a child internally rebels against it and even hates his father. Growing up he attempts as soon as possible to break out from the power of his father. In adult age a man returns to the same attitude which even becomes stronger, taking into account, that the authority is strange and despotic. New psychological motive is added to instinctive hatred which functions on the level of subconscious: sons’ equality of the same mother is impossible to disturb, from here the special attitude to the idea of equality enrooted in the Ukrainian “soul”. In his opinion, the escape of the Ukrainians to “the little groups” and individualism is the basis of egocentrism of Ukrainian people[6].

As a whole, organization of the child activity adopted in ethnic structure, influences on his psychic properties. One of these regulators is the norm of social interference accepted in society. Adopting the normative form of action, a child acquires corresponding norms. The social norms are quite various, that’s why the adoption process of public norms, regulations and values does not play the last role in the genesis of the Ukrainian ethnic-psychological peculiarities.

This process starts too early: from the moment, as Vetuhov supposed, when a child begins to perceive the sense of lullabies. On his persuasion, the Polish lullabies contribute to forming a devout child (in lullabies a mother asks for blessing to her child) and economical one (there are many calculating rhymes); the Persian lullabies immortalize the subdued position of a woman. In its turn, the lullabies of the Ukrainians contain the considerable layer of social and ethnic standard or attitudes. In Ukrainian lullabies the public interests come forward first and foremost. In these songs family happiness is put above personal one, but common weal is immolated for all above-mentioned:

Бодай спало – не плакало,
Бодай росло – не боліло,
Головонька й все тіло –
Отцю й матері на потіху,
Добрим людям на услугу.

Besides, the ethnic standard of boldness will depend on the degree of dissemination of the plot and games role playing in a society: a daring man is who “can fight”, is not afraid of anybody, or “who can intercede for a girl” etc.

For the purpose of inoculating a child with respect to a strange property, the parents sing the lullabies which have the prohibition on getting, snatching and even touching the private property:

А-а, коток!
Украв у баби клубок
Да поніс до Галі,
Положив на лаві
Стала Галя кота бить,
Не вчись, коте, красти,
Да учися робити!

Люлі, люлечки...
Шовковії вервечки,
Колисочка новенька,
Дитиночка маленька!
Спи да рости
Да все в радості;

А як будеш великий
Будеш в золоті ходити
І нянечок, і мамочок
Будеш жалувати[7].

Thus, the norm begins to establish in the early sensory and motor experience of the child as the form (or culture) of his conduct, as a special type of his mutual relations with the interesting objects. Not excepting, it is social rate that causes the peculiarities of the associative reactions among the representatives of different nations[8].

In the following lullaby the basic leit-motif is maternal damnation for violation of laws of the genitive moral, specific system of values which has a stable hierarchy, where disobedience, disrespect to father-mother comes the most sin. In particular, this topic is vividly brought up in such folklore genre, as the "duma" (elegy ballad), according to the old testament formula: "if he does not obey father-mother, he should die":

Мати сина колихала
Дня і ночі не доспала,
Да думала: "добрий буде,
Що він мене не забуде".
Аж він самий п'яниченька

Й великая ледащиченька:
Де мед чує, там ночує;
Де горілку, то там днює;
В корчму йде – вигукує;
До дому йде – бенкет веде;
Свою неньку зневажає,
З двору її виганяє.
"Да йди, нене, гості у мене,
То й не треба тебе у мене!
Будуть куми, побратими…"
Пішла мати, да плачучи,
свого сина проклинаючи:
– щоб ти, сину, щастя не мав,
що ти мене з двора прогнав!…[9]

Another important aspect of this question is a set of proverbs, riddles and by-words (scientists use the term of "paremia" which derives from Greek and it means-parable) and which represents certain indicator of the structure of ethnic mentality by means of reflecting the nature and social conditions of the existence of nation.

Reflecting the peculiarities of social flora and fauna, landscape and climate, paremias give to an individual the image of natural environment, his Homeland and form the natural background of associations, creating the "first level" of the ethnic mentality. However, researching the reflection in paremias of social reality of concrete ethnic community we ought to pay our attention to forming the ethnic mentality together with the peculiarities of national environment. Sometimes they (paremias) consolidate with natural images, sometimes come forward as the basis of independent appearance which constitutes the "second level" of ethnic mentality.

Notions and images are included into associative processes of an individual from the sphere of social system, religion and economical activity, life and ethnic history. Besides, it is very important to ascertain the psychological and pedagogical sense of popular rites. In the opinion of scientists, "the force of ceremony" is in its ability to remind about the task of future reality, in its self-descriptiveness (or in the capacity to be the reference in man's activity). Secondly, the ceremony is so called the "program of action" for a man, who accomplishes it[10].

The ritual practice comes forward also as a carrier of the "collective subconscious" and archetype symbols. It is a specific combination form of the "ethnic levels" of consciousness into united psychogenetic complex which, in its turn, represents the basis for the creating of the traditional characteristics of mentality of our people.

The ritual practice acquires a principle concern during the process of people's upbringing as the essential method of child socialization, drawing him as a personality and the carrier of traditional norms of behaviour: "Birthday, christening, weddings, death and burial, festal ritual ceremonies were reflected in the child funs. According to these events which take place in the peasant life, children play in wedding, burial etc. and strive thoroughly to imitate the adults. In all these funs girls usually identify yourselves with women, and boys with husbands…"[11]

Furthermore, the basic ceremonies of the traditional Ukrainian society are modeled in the "child culture" which associates with the above-mentioned complex of the sacral and ritual sphere of life. For example, reproducing christening "they (children) make a small doll which is considered to be a baby. The Godparents of the baby are chosen among the children. Then the Godparents take the baby and go to the priest who will give a name to the baby. Shortly afterwards they return home and begin to have dinner…"[12]

Moreover, the peculiarities of psychic development of man on the different stages of his existence, a game as the method of psychic upbringing of a child and as the method of his socialization, adhering to the certain social and behavior stereotypes take considerable place in the act of education as the necessary condition for the transmission of knowledge, acquired habits, rules of conduct and moral prescriptions etc.

In its turn, drawing the sexual and age group of children into the ritual and custom system occurs by means of their immediate participation in the cycle of calendar and festal rites: "On Monday, at a wedding, children come together in a bridegroom…The children go for a walk, listen and look attentively at everything that take place at a wedding. Little girls and boys play the role of so called "svitylka" and "boyarun", also the whole day on "Schedra Kutya" (kutya – boiled rice with raising and honey) during the New-Year holidays boys unite and say: "We shall lead a goat".

The boys from 8 to 12 years (and elder) lead the goat. Usually, they group 8 – 10 persons and choose the boy who will make a goat. All these boys are called the goat-carrier: they interchange every two – three cottages and get creep under the sheepskin. It is interesting for everybody to be a goat"[13].

In general, we proceed from the thesis that ritual and custom culture arises as the oldest method of information preservation in illiterate society. The information, fixed and maintained in the system of the rituals of the nation, contained the picture of the world and certain model of people conduct (stereotypes, standards) in special conditions. The purpose of the ritual consists of its reiteration and recreation of the world picture that is formed in a tribe, including the conceptions about adequate behavior for critical and extreme circumstances. The maintenance of the rituals is considered by archaic society to be the guarantee of safety and prosperity[14].

While considering the traditional Ukrainian educational system as the ethnic-psychological concept we can draw the cognitive scheme which includes such analytical constructions as:

– interiorization (as a process of internal adoption, integration) of socio-normative attitudes through the complex of the lullabies, the complex of the Ukrainian songs;

– interiorization of socio-normative attitudes and behaviorial models by the method of imitation, succession of the important events of the peasant family life in the child's funs and games;

– enculturation or transmission of the ethnic-cultural information by means of drawing sexual and age group of children in the ritual and custom system which is the method of self-organization of society and effective form of its preservation. First of all, this system includes:

– incorporation into the "child culture" of the basic ethnic-cultural regulations, ethnic standards and stereotypes of thinking through the immediate participation in socio-cultural life;

– modeling in the child consciousness the calendar and festal rites that represent the approving and arranging the form of the peasant society and the adaptive mechanisms of the conservation and reproducing traditional ethnic characteristics.

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ТРАДИЦІЙНА СИСТЕМА ВИХОВАННЯ УКРАЇНЦІВ ЯК ЕТНОПСИХОЛОГІЧНИЙ КОНЦЕПТ

Стаття присвячена основним механізмам передачі етнокультурної інформації в українському традиційному суспільстві, особливостям процесів інтеріоризації соціального досвіду, когнітивних та поведінкових кліше в "дитячій культурі", ролі та значенню народної педагогіки в постулюванні етнопсихологічної моделі українців у цілому.

Зокрема, у статті робиться спроба концептуального осмислення проблем, пов'язаних з інкорпорацією в "дитячу культуру" основних етнокультурних регулятивів, соціонормативних установок та стереотипів мислення шляхом прилучення статево-вікової групи дітей до ритуально-звичаєвої системи українського етносу, а також питань, що стосуються процесу моделювання в дитячій свідомості календарно-святкової обрядовості українців як санкціонуючо-впорядковуючої форми селянського соціуму та адаптивного механізму збереження і відтворення традиційних етнічних характеристик.

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TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF 20th CENTURY HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS: PROBLEMS IN RESEARCH PRIORITIES

Anthroposphere was and remains mosaic by its nature consisting of different ethnoses. It's becoming more and more obvious that in many aspects artificial escalation of the noosphere processes results in the violation of the social ecology. On the one hand, technical globalization is a dead lock of the world history. French psychologist Serge Moskovichi characterized the transformative jump that has changed the mankind in the 20th century as a shift from "warm", traditional value focused societies to "cold", mass, pragmatically and aggressively adjusted ones. It has resulted in appearing of the crowd as a specific form of human community on arena of history. The environment of the crowd, the core component of which is not a system of values, but primitive and powerful instincts, became the most suitable material for the different psychological manipulations and political gambles. Nevertheless, despite the narrowing of natural areal of traditional culture, it still remains a necessary component of spiritual wealth of modern nations and "ecological niche" for that traditional culture has to be created.

On the other hand leading tendencies of the present period are the spreading of personalism and increasing of the amount of monadic individuals (according to Serhiy Krymskiy). But this individuals need a support of a rich and multiply cultural heritage to maintain their complex integrity.

Analyzing the crucial moments of the Ukrainian history Ivan Dzjuba considers, that "the greatest hopes could be retired on prospects of development of national culture. On the one hand, in Ukraine, as hardly nowhere in Europe, deep sources of authentic national creativity are being kept.This is a saving reserve for professional culture. Nowadays in Europe negative influence of mechanical mastering of the unified consumer standards on spiritual aspects of life and on creating of culture potential of people is more and more realized. It stimulates dramatical revision of the attitude to traditional cultural norms"[1].

Last decade of the 20th century in Europe was marked by the reference to a problem of local identity, active reconsideration of experience of traditional cultures, aspiration to define their role in the modern changeable world. Multiculture (as a certain policy) and assistance to understanding of cultural variety have been unanimously

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accepted at International Conference of UNESCO on Cultural Policy of Humanitarian Department, which took place in Stockholm in March 1998. The majority of its participants has also connected this discussion with spreading of democratic practice all over the world.

The speaker of UNESCO Noriko Aikawa said: "All cultures nowadays face influence and influence itself other cultures. Each culture is not static and isolated. All cultures are in a condition of constant development, through disclosing of external and internal forces. Globalization in the sphere of culture, as well as in the sphere of economy, can lead to the best understanding of special values and the potential of culture, no less than to cultural expansionism and to gradual disappearance of individual cultures. Preservation of specific originality of cultures are extremely important for the formation of cultural plurality of the world"[2].

In this context idea of the orientalist and historian Lyudmila Shaposhnikova is interesting: "Two main conditions are necessary for normal spiritual and material development of nations. First, development correspond to the character of this nation, national culture and that originality which has been developed during many centuries of its history. Second, it should not contradict the main tendencies of space evolution in the energy field of which this nation is located, together with the other nations"[3].

There is one more problem connected to historical transformations of the 20th century. Under conditions of prompt civilizational progress a gap between generations catastrophically increases. The age gradation in mastering the technologies quite often blocks gradation of attitudes to universal categories of life. "Parents" and "children" seemed to appear not only in different semantic dimensions, but also move in the world with rather different perceptions of time – space, rhythm and movement.

Loss or destruction of tradition serves as a reason of loss of reference points of social progress, causes the general social uncertainty and hopelessness[4].

On a background of humanitarian crisis, which is peculiar not only to the Ukrainian society, but also to the world community, the interest of many people to the ethnic roots seems not casual. It's an intuitively experienced way to self-knowledge and spiritual revival. Ethnographic knowledge is collected on the edge of traditional and modern societies, and it is possible that can be considered as the act of self-understanding of society. If we take a psychological, personal side of a problem, a complex of ethnologic knowledge here corresponds to that fund of "cultural memoirs" from which, actually, arises modern monadic individuality. Ethnology as the scientific discipline can give a key for competent use of this heritage. As it is known, during the 19th century the hobby for keeping old things in museums and ethnographic researches were the powerful factor of occurrence of the new Ukrainian intelligentsia among which, eventually, appeared leaders of national liberation movement at the beginning of the 20th century. On the basis of ethnologic researches a number of concepts of the Ukrainian nation and algorithms of its development has been formulated. Not all from these concepts have passed the test of history; many perspective ideas were simply ignored.

Professor Valentyna Borysenko rather fairly notices, that in Ukraine: "the Renaissance of ethnic culture is in a poor condition. There are discussions, disputes, even quarrels concerning separate national realities of traditional culture which have got eventually the certain symbolical sign…? tendencies – archaic, futuristic and Bolshevist-nihilistic – display indeed the deep crisis of our society. There is, obviously, another way of harmonious association of traditional agrarian culture – with its entire huge luggage of spirituality, morals, ethics, behavior, and celebratory-ceremonial culture – with achievements of urban environments. This way can pass through deep understanding and knowledge of ethnic and ritual culture, ecological experience of people and development of the western high technologies, conditions of life, and the attitude to preservation of values"[5]. Thus, nowadays, when development of the Ukrainian statehood lasts, the problem of formation of maximum real strategy of historical and spiritual progress/development of the Ukrainian society and its public institutes are extremely important. Without taking into account conclusions of such science as ethnology this strategy will hardly be real and constructive. Nevertheless, ethnology itself should make correlation with the research priorities adjusted to the historical situation determining new configurations of its basic research subject.

So, the world is changing rapidly, methodology of ethnologic researches is focused mainly on the search of stable variants of an investigated culture. But theoretical modeling and reproduction of variants quite often occurs thus as if process of culture formation has finished. Therefore the facts of an ethnic life appear as if taken out of real historical dynamics. The matter is that " the classical science since antique times and up to the first half of the 19th century has been focused on fixing, the analysing and the description of the phenomena, their complete systems or complexes in settled finished or the most often to the observable form"[6].

Today, in conditions of deep historical transformations, an ethnographer should work not only with exterior forms of this culture (and they have remained only in a fragmentary form), but also he should pay attention to its interior aspects. In particular, on putting the tradition to life through personal approaches and creative interpretation.

But before that it is necessary to reconsider the basic moments of the theory of cultural tradition.

Category of tradition belongs to key concepts of ethnology. The ethymology of concept conducts genesis from

Latin (traditio – transfer) where this word was used for definition of the certain legal and property acts. In end of the 19th century Brockhaus and Efron's dictionary gave such definition to the word "tradition": "establishing of real dominations over things from the side of their former owner for the benefit of a new one, who buy them in the property or possession"[7]. It's said below that a word "tradition" means the same as to the word "Legend" – " in divinity of the second of two primary sources of Christian belief "[8].

In fact by the domestic scientific schools the crisis in formation of a basis of theoretical ethnography was defined somewhere in 1960s. One of the culminations of this process started the discussion covered on pages of the magazine "Soviet ethnography" – 1981, №№ 2 – 3, which took place at the methodological seminar of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Sciencies Academy which has been organized by the Scientific council of the Sciencies Academy of the USSR on a history of the world culture, the bureau of the seminar and the editorial board of the magazine. It has been carried out in the form of so-called "round table" that provides beforehand a widespread basic report and a series of short reports of participants. E.Markarjan's article "Key problems of cultural tradition" has been offered for the discussion.

E.Markarjan defines ideological poles of the theory of cultural tradition between such methodological positions. The first one is connected to studying of types of ideology, which is based on principles of Diltey ("philosophy of life"), Veber, and Sorokin. It is the concept of cultural-historical typology. The second one is based on the method of the structurally functional analysis. E.Markarjan is developing his ideas within the second methodological position[9].

The first approach is illustrated by I.Suhanov's point of view: "Customs and traditions, he states, have two common functions: to be means of stabilization of the attitudes ratified in the given society and to carry out reproduction of these attitudes in the life of new generations. But these functions carry out traditions and customs in different ways. Customs directly stabilize by detailed instructions of action in concrete situations the certain parts of public attitude and recreate them in the life of new generations. Traditions, unlike customs, are directly inverted to an inner world of the man, they carry out the role of means of stabilization and reproduction of the public attitude not directly, but through formation of spiritual qualities which demand these attitudes".

To oppose it E.Markarjan uses D.Ugrinovich's point of view, who allocating a "traditional" way as one of forms of inheritance of culture, writes: "Its main feature is the mechanism of reproduction of human activity: experience of human activity is gained not by mastering main principles or norms of this activity, but through copying of it, reproduction of its whole pieces, "pieces" in all forms and details". He considers custom and a ceremony as the basic forms of traditional transfer of culture"[10].

E.Markarjan defines cultural tradition through the information characteristic of culture, identifying this phenomenon as: " the group experience expressed in socially organized stereotypes which by existential transmission is accumulated and recreated in various human collectives"[11].

In retorts of those who have taken part in discussion of the article of Markarjan a number of prominent aspects of the object of the research have been outlined:

– " The Tradition can be considered as the social memory"[12].

– The tradition personifies "the reproductive beginning of culture" and causes "effect of stabilization of a public life"[13].

– The concept of cultural norm is the central concept expressing regulative function of traditions.

– The tradition is the mechanism of formation of a phenomenon of culture.

The further development of the subject arosed in the above-mentioned discussion, we meet on pages of the monography of S.Arutjunov "Peoples and Cultures", issued in 1989. Considering ethnos as a set of information connections, the author of the book notices: "the Tradition is the phenomenon which is initially inherent in the person from the moment of his birth, both in phylogenetic, and in ontogenetic sense"[14]. Considering functions of culture – as cultures of life-support – Arutyunov carries action of the mechanism of tradition to " the fourth cycle " realization of the ability to live, that is to a subsystem of the overbiological sociocultural reproduction which is carried out by accumulation and the social organization of socially significant experience, but, besides – "as stereotypes of cultural tradition"[15].

We find rather interesting development of this problem in Lev Gumilev's works. If Arutyunov develops the information theory of ethnos Gumilev emphasizes the energetical nature of ethnogenesis, suggesting the original concept of passionarity. One more important point for better understanding of the essence of tradition in Gumilev's versions of the theory of ethnos is the concepts of "an ethnic field". The last is put forward by the scientist for an explanation of a phenomenon of unity of ethnic systems, that coordinate actions of elements, which make ethnos. As the researcher considers, essential argument for the benefit of a hypothesis about an ethnic field is the phenomenon of complimentarity (subconscious awareness of ethnic affinity), which is hard to explain from other positions. "The ethnos is the passionar field of one rhythm specific for particular ethnos, – marks Gumilev – the rhythm is not born. It is a property not of a person, and ethnic group. The genotype can determine much:

temperament, speed of reaction, ability to abstraction, imagination, etc., but not the feeling of "my" and "another's" determining features of ethnos. This feature is transferred to the child by alarm heredity"[16]. L.Gumilev considered ethnology as a natural science and considered, that the interdisciplinary approach is necessary for adequate knowledge of ethnic phenomena. In particular he marked: "The transfer of the information through hereditary named by physicists as "tradition", and in the language of biologists – "an alarm heredity"[17]. E.Markarjan comes to similar conclusions.

Power interchanging processes constantly occur inside the most ethnosocial organism where, "contrary to the genetic information which is transferred through the hereditary way, these information connections exist as communications"[18]. As passionarity is accumulated and transformed by ethnos during ability to live by a version of energy of alive substance (biogeochemical energy)[19], that is the basis to speak about one more measurement of a power-information exchange.

Thus, the tradition in a context of the concept of a power-information exchange appears as a necessary condition of time – spatial duration of ethnos.

The maintenance of the power-information nature of tradition and ethnic processes will be better clear – in particular of its informational component – if we attach to our analysis the theory of sign systems. Information connections of certain etnosociors and separate etnofors with concrete space (a landscape – an ecological niche) on which Serhiy Arutjunov makes his accents, it is possible to describe in a quantitative equivalent, what he actually does, but it is possible to look at this interaction from this point of view of the semiotics status of things. "Trying to capture as the greater space as possible, having transformed it from alien Chaos into native Space, the archaic person, on V.N.Toporova's expression as if throws on the world grid – system of binary and figurative oppositions"[20]. J.Lotman counted sign-symbolical development of the validity as one of determining attributes of culture. One of followers of this direction of A.Bajburin marks, that "as a result of contacts between the person and an environment (which have especially amplified after so-called Neolithic revolutions) and processing of the primary information with the help of sign means there is an original doubling of the world and there is an image of the world which is embodied in the diversified factors of behavior and results of activity"[21]. The researcher sees sense of tradition in " transfer of a picture of the world"[22].

Thus, within last fifty years ethnographers mainly in stereotyped forms, in universal, general aspects, examined the phenomenon of tradition accordingly – in especially social measurement of a phenomenon of ethnicity. Meanwhile, in a basis of tradition there is a concrete personal experience. Besides the traditional culture of Ukrainians within the 20th century survived not only destructive internal influences, but also has gone through the certain evolution on internal algorithm. Therefore, besides generalizations and searches of invariants of cultures, the individual aspect of ethnologic researches becomes more active.

Our Central European colleagues also have interesting conceptual ideas in this direction: "The phenomena of changes and continuity in tradition had crucial importance for cultural anthropology from the beginning of the history of this science.

Among experts the point of view for our time as for typically transitive epoch is enough widespread. All old traditions test erosion, distortions or transformations. Traditions disappear also this ephemeral and rapid phenomenon of transition concerns not only peasant culture of Europe, but is universal. These are changes, which always have been taking place in a developing society.

During continuous development of each culture other mechanism switches on defining the future characteristic of the given culture. Process of a reproduction of prominent features of culture is parallel to form creating (self-development), but opposite to directiveness", – states the director of the European Center for Traditional Cultures Mihaly Hoppal (Budapest)[23].

Among the newest works devoted to tradition, the research of Ukrainian ethnopsychologist Volodymyr Kuevda draws attention to developing "psychological mechanisms of an embodiment of traditional character from "ritual" to "ritualized ethics"[24]. That is a certain transformative fracture of societies is taken into consideration.

In this context it is necessary to emphasize on the change of relations between ritual and irritual contents of culture.

It is known, that ritual belongs to modelling sign systems. The last is defiened by researchers as "difficultly organized set of interdependent symbolical mental models, patterns, connections which form a complete picture of the world", organizing "macrocosm and microcosm"[25]. Ritual is allocated with the ability "to consolidate a community around the cultural values during the crisis moments. Display and an exchange of trues, norms, the values determining for the given social group is the function of a ritual"[26].

At early stages of development of this or that ethnocultural communities its consciousness is characterized by the initial syncretism, that is, concerning small differentiation of the subject and object, macrocosm and microcosm, the archaic person projects acts of the internal life on an environment. Exteriorized spiritual experiences remain in a prevailing measure integrated in a collective field; ritual penetrates all spheres of a life and remains in the

form of a mentality. The text of ritual creation is carried out with the maximal punctuality and full belief at it. It is an epoch of domination of mythological thinking.

In process of accumulation of individual experience the person receives an ability to distinguish more deeply macrocosm and microcosm, to learn them separately, to realize the individuality, and to be more conscious in terms of an influence on it. There comes ability not ritually, and really to feel likeness with group and the place in it. Religious thinking appears as the result of establishing strict hierarchal and institutional relations. This moment does not mean the official acceptance of this or that ethnos of new religion. Besides the religious type of thinking does not supersede mythological – they form original layer with zones of interosculation. Those spheres of life, which "are not blocked" by the religious attitude, remain open for domination of mythological stereotypes of thinking. Near to that the society is also stratified. There are adherents and carriers of one or other type of thinking and culture. Cultures of elite, professional and lower class become separated.

Interior (spiritual) traditions are allocated during the process of activization of religious type world outlook. If traditions are "archaic", syncretic-spiritual they scoop the primary information from the sources of mythological memory religious – spiritual traditions, as a rule, are located and individualized. A source of the last, in most cases, becomes spiritual experience of the concrete person. This tradition is formed of a chain of concrete spiritual experiences. Its action is directed on support of sensation of individual – spiritual self-identity, and even wider – ethnic identity and ethnocultural originality. For example such element of tradition of Ukrainians of Podillia as custom of reverence of water sources can be rather indicative example of over-placement and the certain synthesis of mythological and religious types of thinking, communal-ceremonial, exterioriezed, and personal-subjective, interior, cultures.

So, investigating traditional culture in conditions of historical transformations we face the necessity: first, to pay attention on atypical, not stereotiped, the unique phenomena of an ethnic life, to processes of an individualization in traditional culture. Second, to recognize "subject – heuristic value of all sides of life of ethnonational communities"[27], bringing a focus to philosophical-culturological paradigm of tradition which provides aksiological attitude to active position of the person in the world on the basis of universal measurements of a human life, as opposed to that intellectual paradigm which asserts quantitative, computing, calculating characteristics of the human attitude to the world around. And, eventually, – from "the most observable forms" to proceed to a noumenal level of the phenomena which are taking place in a field of our supervision. In fact traditional culture being – as by virtue of objective conditions (the general civilizational progress of mankind, a state policy of the separate countries), and conditions subjective: internal mechanisms of self-organizing superseded from daily vital practice, passes from the phenomena of the phenomenal world in noumenal measurement, becomes the internal factor of spiritual – creative, psychological, art processes, in an equal measure as well as the latent spring of expansion of these or those social phenomena. In such situation prevail intrinsic bases of traditional culture, including its aksiological contents. It, finally, can affect the scientific approaches to studying traditional culture. It will enable to find out: what structures have the greatest stability in the process of transformations. And then to create the intellectual background for development of chains of complimentarity between representatives of different generations and layers of Ukrainians, and also to provide self-identification of elder generations in new historical circumstances and an identification of the present generation of Ukrainians with the great cultural heritage of the Ukranian nation.

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ТРАДИЦІЙНА КУЛЬТУРА В ІСТОРИЧНИХ ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЯХ XX СТОЛІТТЯ: ПРОБЛЕМА ДОСЛІДНИЦЬКИХ ПРИОРІТЕТІВ

Досліджуючи традиційну культуру в умовах історичних трансформацій ми стикаємося з необхідністю: по перше, звернути увагу на нетипові, не стереотипізовані, унікальні явища етнічного життя, на процеси індивідуалізації в традиційній культурі. По друге – зосередитись на ціннісному змісті традиції. А відтак – від "найчастіше спостережуваних форм" перейти до ноуменального рівня явищ, що перебувають у полі нашого спостереження. Адже, традиційна культура, будучи – як в силу об'єктивних умов (загальний цивілізіційний поступ людства, державна політика окремих країн), так і умов суб'єктивних: внутрішні механізми самоорганізіції – витісненою із повсякденної життєвої практики, переходить із явищ феноменального світу в ноуменальний вимір, стає внутрішнім чинником духовно-творчих, психологічних, мистецьких процесів, рівною мірою як і прихованою пружиною розгортання тих чи інших соціальних феноменів. Така ситуація, зрештою, має позначитись і на пріоритетах наукових підходів до вивчення традиційної культури Це дасть можливість з'ясувати, які структури мають найбільшу стійкість в процесах трансформацій.

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THE HORSE IN THE WEDDING RITUAL OF CENTRAL POLISSIA

The wedding ritual as a complicated and developed system conceals various symbols and plots associated with them, which are represented by some characters. Sometimes they are animals reflecting different surrounding objects and phenomena. Such phenomenon forms a special zoological code[1]. In old times animals were objects of the cult (zoolatry). But this phenomenon is not always connected with totemism[2]. Horse occupies a prominent place among such animals and it is one of the oldest cultural symbols. But its role in the wedding ceremony is not examined enough because of the lack of the source base. A chief aim of the article is to distinguish horse role and place in Central Polissia wedding ritual. The research is based on the field materials gathered by the author on the region territory during the expedition, exactly in 30 villages of Emilchyns'kyi, Luhyns'kyi, Malyns'kyi, Narodyts'kyi, Ovryts'kyi, Olevs'kyi districts (Zhytomyr region), Ivankivs'kyi, Polis'kyi, Chornobyl'skyi districts (Kyiv region), Rokytnivs'kyi district (Rivne region), Iziaslavs'kyi district (Khmelnytsk region).

In the world's mythology the horse is always associated with the male deities – patrons of different worlds. Very often it is an inhabitant of the upper world air and in this meaning it possesses some birds features and is a zoomorphic deity or a helper at the last[3]. Among the Indo-Europeans horse is not only an assistant of the god of fire Agni, but a cosmic animal, whose parts are associated with the main parts of our Universe[4]. Among the Greeks it is an erotical symbol. Poseidon transformed into a horse in order to get possession of his wife Demeter, and she turned into a mare to escape from him[5]. Among the East Slavs horse is an animal of the two gods Perun and Veles. The last is associated with agreement, communication and movement and at the stage development of his image was regarded as a family, commune embodiment and their patron. Veles's server with East Slavs is a wizard (volkhv), the choosen member of community. This horse was bred in the saint grove (gai). It was forbidden to ride on it[6]. In some Ukrainian regions (Zakarpatia) were noted the following opinions about the demoniac horse origin: it is able to know about future death and according to other sources – the wedding celebration[7]. So, in the world culture horse is associated with different worlds – with the upper one, with its sun cults, and with the low one, underground, and it is able to be a mediator between these two worlds[8].

In the wedding ceremony horse as character is associated with several topics. The prominent is the space deployment that has a mythological context except attributive and role contexts. In the wedding ceremony the main character is a horse with a horseman. This character in the local rituals has a function of driving into the house. Its existence is fixed by the author in spite of its significant destruction on the huge area from the Dnipro to the Ubort', but sporadically up to the Horyn'. Here horse as the ritual subject is found with the help of the dialectological examinations[9]. The mentioned ceremony in the wedding system of this region was not described and was not analysed in the Ukrainian scientific works. In different villages it is fixed as strange exotic phenomenon which was existing before the time when kolhosps appeared and in northern parts of this land it was alive up to the 1950s. In some cases ritual is remembered in the fiance's house, in the other in the fiancee's one or in both houses (village Buky, Malynskyi district). The north villages of the region own the fullest information – Luhyns'kyi, Narodyts'kyi, Ovryts'kyi, Chornobyls'kyi and Polis'kyi regions. Here there are some descriptions: "The bride and groom drove four horses. When they reached the yard, the decorated horse or all four horses were led into the bride's mother house. And only after that the couple entered into the house. The horseman wore red clothes and had sabers. The horse was led into the house by a bridle because it was impossible to ride on it. The horse was decorated with flowers and they gave vodka (horilka) to it" (village Tarasy, Polis'kyi region). "An old man with his naked cock (folk Ukrainian name 'kischka') mounted a horse and rode into the house. And we were astonished" (villages Hunychi, Mozhary, Pokaliv, Zhbanki, Duminske in Ovrutskyi region). "Horse was led into the house in order to be an owner'' (village Fenevychi, Ivankivskyi region). "At the groom's place, after they had sat at the tables, the horse was led into the house. It was decorated carefully with a wreath. Boyar was on it. Vodka (horilka) was served on such occasions" (village Sukachi, Ivankivs'kyi region). "Before distributing the wedding bread (korovai) they rode into the bride's house. The horse was decorated with the carpet, strips, rings and belts. The boyar had a saber. Horilka was served to the boyar and his horse" (village Zhovtneve, Polis'kyi region). Sometimes

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we meet a game hint about the ritual horse role in the process of bringing korovai into the house for its further distributing: “They bring the korovai, and sing and lead a horse and give it horilka, but he kicks back” (village Koshovka, Chornobyl’s’kyi region).

On the Kyiv Polissia territory this character has military features and a specific folk name – “cherkes”. The bride was taken on Monday. They drove her and cherkes was riding in front of them – druzhba (a man who called people with korovai) was tied up with a special towel (rushnyk) and rode into the bride’s mother house. And we ran to see him. He had a saber. The cherkes and his horse were decorated with the belts (poiasy). Poiasy were bought – red, green and blue. It occurred when the bride was taken” (villages Pavlovychi, Dibrova, Martynovychi, Polis’kyi region). The role of the horse as a military man is widely known and popular. Among the Romans it is God of Earth that is associated with the military topic and as the result with God of the War Mars whose sacred place is on a plain, in the field, but not on a hill[10]. Let’s remember that Perun accompanied with horse is associated with war.

All the collected information is divided into two groups. The first one includes information about such phenomenon when a horse with a horseman drove into the groom’s house during the festive ceremony. The second one comprises villages where horse escorted the couple on their way to mother-in-law’s place. It is the first who rides through the fire made at the gate and drives into the house: “When it is necessary to lead the bride to the mother-in-law’s house, they drive into the house, horilka and pampuschki (kind of fritter) were served. The horseman rode in front of them up to the gate” (villages Vesniane, Bovysche, Poliskyi region). “When the bride is virgin, her uncle and the groom rode from her place. They had to drive through the fire at the groom’s mother gate” (village Dorohyn, Narodyts’kyi region). Thus, in this case, the horseman and his horse were the first news about bride’s virginity. Such plot deployment was represented only in some villages (village St. Dorohyn, Buky, Berestovets, Korostens’kyi district, Luchmany, Ovrutskyi district).

The horse presence at the wedding ceremony as ritually marked animal first of all reminds the New Year tradition associated with an animal-”polaznyk” that is able to wish and provides the happy life in the coming year. In our case such wish for a happy new life in their marriage is expressed. At the same time the ritual reality of this period proposes the elements of foreseeing the bride’s virginity by horse: “Boyar rode into the groom’s house. His cap was made from straw-bands. And horilka was served to both of them. When the horse defecates, the bride is not virgin” (village Rubezhivka, Narodyts’kyi district).

The given passages have some common positions – fortune-telling, dung, virgin. Let’s examine them on by one. The tradition of fortune-telling by horse as a sacred animal (hipomantia) is a quite ancient and quite popular phenomenon, especially at the ancient Slavs and Balts. Balts when setting out for a battle march tried their luck with the help of specially bred horse – oracle. If it touched one of the soldier’s spears with its coffin, it meant failure[11]. That’s why bride’s virginity test with the help of a horse is not unexpected and has historic and cultural roots.

Semantic meanings associated with dung are worth learning too. In various territorially and chronologically distant cultures we meet the typologically similar points of view. The Hindus cleared their fields by dung , leaving cattle on them[12]. The same way people examined the place for their future house with the help of cattle (dung) on the territory of Kyiv Polissia, leaving cattle for overnight to rest there (village Fenevychi). Even the process of taking dung into the fields in folk consciousness was a period defined by some particular thoughts and beliefs. At this time and during all year holidays it was forbidden to lend anything from the house[13]. V.V.Ivanov makes a conclusion analyzing the Belorusian ethnographic material that front part of a horse is an equivalent of the upper level, positive one but its back part from which dung is thrown is associated with the low level[14]. The confirmation to this fact we can find on Central Polissia territory too. “If the bride is not virgin the horse was led into the house by its tail” (village Novi Novaky, Luhyns’kyi district). Or, “if you drink water dropping from horse’s lips, you won’t sleep in summer”[15]. In some medieval learners mind its back side is the hidden face mask[16]. Low part represents the material world origin, its physiological demands and instincts. This topic is developed in various plots from the body reproduction to the shameful implications of the sexual contact or defecation, the topics of people initial desires and reproduction importance, life non-stopping are interconnected. Human being body as learned microcosm is associated with unlearned Universe macrocosm: “Human body comprises the whole universe in all its sides”[17]. So in horse defecation during the wedding ceremony we can see ambivalency of meanings. They are its wish of wealth by the regarding low part as reproduction source and provision by the cleaning of the living territory from the negative results of the not virgin bride stay in the house. At V.Balushok mind girl’s preparation for giving a new life was considered as peculiarity of women’s initiations[18]. The premature defloration according to the local notions could lead to the bees death (Olevs’kyi district), cattle plague (village Buky), household’s destruction and at last the whole family death (village Borove, Rokytnivskyi district). Dung as natural substance combines productive and apotropic functions.

Ambivalency in our opinion is peculiar to the studied plot in general, when the horseman embodying the totem

of the family and a reminder of his ancesty is escorting the bride and the bride groom along their whole way to the groom's house. He is not only the wish to be happy, but a communicative-informative character-symbol of the happy realization of the wedding agreement via the ritual with the name "komora". The horseman overcomes the ritual way between the bride's and groom's locuses binding them together and he is the first who drives in the groom's house where he with his horse is fed and watered. The last action is an old tradition and means respect and worship. Some researches prove that the closest character associated with family and its life among East Slavs was Veles. He as well as Rod is directly reflected in the Slavic cultural and ritual complex: "At the most important moments of life during the so-called "rituals of transition" the full member of the community was identical to the whole community and the whole world and was a symbol of its transformation into Volos. Thus, Volos identified the community itself, the world. He personified it"[19]. In the opinion of particular researches Rod was considered to be a patron of family among the East Slavs at the early time of their mythology and later he was substituted by Volos.

Probably, in the process of destruction of matrilocal tradition and carrying out the ritual "komora" exclusively at the groom's place the topic was connected only with his territory where it kept its vivid erotic nature (we refer to showing a sexual organ by a horseman). And even in this case a horse implies an animal that brings news about bride's innocence, but in the other way from the groom's locus to the bride's locus. In this way in some villages the invitation to the second day of the wedding celebration was held by the boyars (groomsmen) (e.g. the village of Mahdin, Ovruch). In the south-western part of the region the ritual was occasionally carried out not with an animal, but with a scarecrow (the villages of Mokliaki, V.Hlumcha, Bobritsia in the area of Emil'chy). Probably, under the influence of the described ritual tradition horsemen in the regional wedding celebration are messengers who bring other pieces of news, namely, performance of church wedding ceremony. To this end, driving in the house by horse was also fixed.

Thus, after the analysis of collected information we become firmly established that there is a direct connection between the determined character and the idea of couple's innocence, in general, the idea of change. The image of horse as a means of transport for the couple from one world into another that the wedding celebration implies was studied by V.Balushok in the context of youth initiations. The researcher considers a horse to be connected with well-arranged inner (own) space as well as with not well-arranged outer (alien) one[20]. These ideas acquire paramount importance in the context of sort of the forgotten problem which Korniy Cherv'yak tried to solve. The last touches the function of a horse during the funeral ceremonies of unmarried youth. He made travelling notes in the villages of Zhitomir Polissia and fixed the obligatory presence of horsemen during the funeral of a fellow. He tried to make clear their obligatory nature referring to the family complex of only "neighbouring" gentry or a common regional tradition[21]. K.Cherv'yak must have not found final answer to that question. We think the ritual of riding into the house on a horse and placing the horse at the head of the ritual procession is typical for the rural traditions of the region. It was recorded by the author as a part of the funeral ceremony not only in "noble", but in "moujik" vilages. There a funeral of a fellow was impossible without the korovai (wedding bread), the wedding branch and particular clothes as well as a ritual ride of, at least, one horseman. It looks like the widespread tradition in Central Polissia in ancient times was kept in the historic memory of old-timers in only occasionally. By the way, on the investigated area seeing a horse in the dream is evidence of change or news. A black horse is associated with death, but a fair one – with news. The topic of horse as transport is brought up in the regional folk songs.

Blessing the couple's train by a new mother-in-law who rides an oven-fork to do this may be considered an allegoric marker of covering a road on a horse: "The groom's mother mounts oven-prongs like a horse and a boyar imitates holding the "horse" by they bridle. She "rides" around a dough-trough three times throwing back nuts, coins, seeds. Those prongs are thrown by a boyar above the house" (the village of Volianschyna)[22]. In the given example an oven-fork substitutes a horse. Why does the very allegoric substitution come into existence? Let's recall that an oven-fork as a household object is connected with an oven, it means with fire, light. Above we mentioned the fact that in some cultures the horse was also connected with that substance and its God. The same parallels are found in the Central Polissia wedding folklore. Study the two following texts.

Oh, whose horse is galloping ahead,
Vasyl's steed is galloping ahead,
Oh, you, steed, don't be tired,
Bring us fire (the village of Dibrova)

The more interesting and complete description of the ritual is recorded in the district of Narodychi:

Oh, whose horse, whose horse is striking fire,
Oh, stone, oh, stone, give us fire,

Give us fire, fervent and burning for candles to light,
To light candles and to make this day bright
(the village of St.Dorohyn')

These versions of the same song are practised on the threshold during lighting the family's candles. The very horse brings fire according to the songs. The second song shows the specific information about striking fire from a stone (flint) by a coffin.

A stick (a "cudgel", a "pale stake") as a sign of a horse is mentioned in southern part of Volyn' and is used in making the korovai (the wedding bread). The groom's korovai-makers went to the bride to invite her female relatives to help, they set out with a "horse" in the form of "pale stake" decorated with a wreath on the top (the village of Holyky, district of Iziaslav).

The horse is often depicted in the role of the main character's assistant in the folk tales[23]. The vivid use of that function is occasional in the wedding ritual in Central Polissia. Thus, in one of the villages located between the rivers Vuzh and Teteriv, in past this territory was inhabited by the Cheks and Ukrainians, there was a tradition of invitation to the wedding that was carried out by the groom accompanied by a festively decorated horse. Among the decorations ribbons, small bells, a rug were obligatory (the village of Ivanivka, Malyn).

An allegoric image of horse is represented in the words which are pronounced at the moment of sewing a flower on the groom's clothes, the ritual is observed before setting out to the bride:

Oh, I'll mount a stake and ride to the garden,
I'll pick up periwinkle for the groom's flower,
I'll sew on the groom's flower
Let the green periwinkle protect him with its power.
(the village of Zubkovychi, Olevsk)

There is a particular symbolism of colour of the horse hair. The Hindus pictured a horse of winter as white and of summer as bay[24]. In the Bulgarian wedding celebration a white horse is an attribute of the bride[25]. The regional folklore also provides information about two types of colour of the ritual horse hair that may indicate the time of wedding or mark out a sacred horse via its colour of the hair:

Jurichok came to his father-in-law yard on broun horses,
Oh, prance my horce under me
His father-in-law's come out of the house with greetings, but Jura doesn't care,
Oh, prance my horse under me,
His mother-in-law greets her son-in-law, but he doesn't care,
Oh, prance my horse under me,
Hannusia's come out, greeting and catching hold of his hand,
Oh, halt, my horse, stop prancing, it's time to stand still
(the village of Zbran'ky, Ovruch)

Seven hundred boyars came to my yard,
Guess, guess, lass Olechka, which is yours,
Who in the yard on a grey horse is not mine,
Neither in a blue coat, nor in a green one is mine,
Mine is on a white horse like a swan
(the village of St.Dorohyn')

Let's sum up. As we see, the image of the horse in the folk culture, namely in the wedding tradition in Central Polissia, represents numerous symbols that form semantic lines and all their meanings are interconnected.

The horse as a wedding character represents several topics in Central Polissia:

– it is a sacred animal that provides information and spread it (it lets know if the bride is innocent, brings news via dreams etc).

– It makes a transition of the couple from the world into another one, from a status into another one, from a territory into another one, thus it has another function of shift (really spaciuos or virtual). In this context a horse is not only an animal that wishes happiness, but it is a subject of binding together the ritual space connected with an initiative and marriage shift that was studied by V.Balushok. Thus, the semiotic code of horse as a wedding character implies a ratifying function of the marriage.

– In all cases it plays a role of assistant of some specific character – in some cases the groom's helper, in other it renders assistance to a groomsman or a boyar.

– Colour of the horse hair underlines its sacred nature.

– In spite of a careful study collected information, regional ethnographic researches reveal separate little known phenomena. It broadens our ideas about outlook traditions of our people by means of introducing new artifacts in the general context of Ukrainian ethnology.

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КІНЬ У ВЕСІЛЬНИХ ОБРЯДАХ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО ПОЛІССЯ

Стаття присвячена з'ясуванню символіки коня, як персонажу весільного ритуалу. Поставлена проблема реалізується на основі польових матеріалів, зібраних автором на теренах Центрального Полісся. Застосування семіотичного коду дозволяє виявити полісемантичність означеного образу в системі весільного дійства. Серед виявлених значень головними можна визнати санкціонуючу функцію коня, яка виявляється в сюжетах "гіпомантії" (ворожіння конем) та коня-перевізника. Кінь також служить помічником окремих весільних чинів (молодого, свата або боярина) та репрезентує символіку світла. Священність ритуально задіяного коня підкреслюється його мастю.

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HISTORICAL TRADITIONS AND PRESENT NATIONAL STATE FORMATION IN UKRAINE ACCORDING TO FOREIGN HISTORIOGRAPHY

At the present stage in Ukraine, a complicated process of forming basic foundations for the independent state, seeking for the most rational and proper forms of uniting national historical traditions with world experience of state creation is developing, considering the impact of globalization on further development of states and nations.

At the intersection of the millennium, the Ukrainian people gained a unique chance to create their own independent state, while by the 1980s among world existing 8 thousand language groups, only 200 constituted themselves as nations with the own states and about 600 were seeking for autonomy[1]. So today it is especially important to aspire more research on this complex problem, and provide nation-state formation in Ukraine with grounded theoretical basis, using the best ideas of Western scientific political thought.

One of the main problems being worked out for a long period of time in Western historical and political science is particulars and regularities of national state creation. The well-known scholars in this field appear M.E.Brown, W.Connor, A.Hastings, D.Horowitz and others[2]. They have the priority in working out the concepts of formation and development of nations, dynamics of national-liberation movements during 19th – 20th centuries, giving appropriate definitions, determining general aspects of nation-forming processes, solving problems of turning ethnic groups into nations. In these papers the analysis of historical results of nation-forming processes in main European states and the particulars of above-mentioned processes regarding dependent and stateless peoples, is of great interest for present Ukraine.

Within this context, the primary attention is paid to research the interconnection of the processes of nation-forming and state creation. The historical development having been experienced by those peoples who have created their independent states consisted of the following components: ethnic rebirth (the stage of self-cognition and gaining self-consciousness); politization of ethnicity (struggle for political power for the ethnic group); gaining political power and creation the system of control over the introduction of national interests through state structures[3]. As a result, the newly formed state performs important functions concerning further development of the nation and safeguarding its interests in political, economic, legal and other spheres.

The example of simultaneous emergence of nation and state can be given by the West European experience. In Europe, as R.Pipes considers, even during the Middle Ages, the territorial principle suppressed the ethnic one. England, for example, is a sample of the territorial national state, which was formed in 1600[4]. After the French revolution, according to M.Hechter, national states became the dominating political organization and the carrier of collective ethnicity on the European continent[5]. The difference of historical traditions of the European states from those of the post-soviet region, as T.Spybey considers, is that they were developing as the conglomeration of independent national states within the European civilization, and not as the single imperial hierarchy[6].

The well-known opinion in the political thought is that till the 19th century "ethnographic ideas were not of special significance", that national component as an important part of socio-political life emerged during the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions[7]. But the historical development of many states, as for instance, Ireland, is the bright example of the English failure to suppress Irish separatism, though discriminating methods and physical destruction of the people were going on since the second half of the 14th century[8].

Much importance for this topic is presented by the research of O.Pritsak, where the writer analyses the significance of the church for the formation of the civil society, rights and freedoms of its members[9]. He stresses that the concept of nation and national rebirth is the typical product of Western civilization and was absolutely strange for the orthodox vision till the beginning of the 19th century. The struggle between the church and the state in the West favoured the development of the intellectual sphere and the emergence of Humanism, Italian Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, French and English Renaissance. As a result, the refined culture was formed and based on folk elements. O.Pritsak considers it to be significant that in the 11th century, the political institutions of Western Europe gave up the concept of universalism (one emperor for the whole Christian

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world); in the Feudal society, the system of contract relations between the seignior and his vassal existed, which later turned the principle of the individual freedom into the main one in the system of European democracy.

Ukraine's position on the border of Catholic and Orthodox worlds, the common boundary with Catholic states (from 1000 with Hungarian Kingdom, from 1320 with Polish Kingdom) resulted in the active participation of Kyiv Princes in the European policy; in Rus' the own mother country was created; and attempts to form a union with Rome are known from 1245.

But the Orthodox Church in Ukraine never gave up the concept of universalism; but even during the period of the activities of Ostroh and Kyiv Mohyla Academies, Ukraine mainly absorbed the antihuman spirit of Jesuit counterreformation and not the ideas of Western Renaissance and Enlightenment[10].

The Cossack-Hetman state of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi possessed specific features of state-forming in Ukraine considering the problem of formation of leading and politically conscious layers as the basis for nation-forming. Certain imitation of particulars of Polish statehood resulted in petty bourgeois' failure to form a separate layer. Moreover, according to T.Zaryckyi, "the Ukrainian shlyahta (gentry) became the basis for modern Polish intelligentsia"[11]. After 1649, representatives of church were not given the proper position in the state, which caused their tending to Moscow protectorate. In contrast to Europe, lack of development of bourgeois elements within the society was of negative impact on the future of Ukraine, as it was in the 19th century when bourgeoisie presented the basis for a new state ideal.

The particular feature of the situation in Ukraine is that for a long period of time our people were politically dependent and stateless, so with gaining independence the two simultaneous processes of nation-forming and state-building take place, the coincidence of them in time makes results slow and more difficult to reach.

To apprehend particulars of national state formation in Ukraine, it is important to consider that, as O.Pritsak and J.Reshetar stress, Ukrainians were dwelling not only within the borders of the two Empires – Russia and Austro-Hungary, but also in six cultural zones: Slobids'ka Ukraine with the Cossack order, but this territory was under Moscow Tsar from the very beginning; Left-Bank Ukraine with stable and strong Cossack traditions; Novorossia (former lands of Zaporizka Sich and Crimean Khanat) with the centre in Odessa; Right-Bank Ukraine and Volyn' where Polish culture was dominating; Galychyna and Bukovyna as a part of Austria from 1772 – 1774 with the center in Lviv; Transcarpathia which for a long time was a part of Hungarian Kingship. There was no direct connection between the two centers of Ukrainian rebirth in the 19th century – Slobids'ka Ukraine and Galychyna, they were separated by the sphere of Polish influence and by the areas of Jewish settlements[12].

If after the Austro-Hungary's disintegration, the states started to create democratic regimes, then in fact the USSR was a new Empire which inherited Russian tradition. According to A.J.Motyl, Moscow and St. Petersburg represented political, economic and cultural metropoly with different levels of imperial control over its regions: this control was much stronger in Poland, Byelorussia, Ukraine and in the Caucasus, and weaker in Finland, the Baltic region and the Middle Asia. Traditionally strong was the control of the center over Ukraine during the Soviet period as well[13].

R.Pipes, while studying the problem of evolution of Russian national identity, stressed that it was bad for Ukrainian development that in Russia no loyalty to independent institutions and human rights protection was formed due to a number of historical reasons. Before 1861, serves were not only representatives of ethnic minorities, but a large part of Russians, and the possible bourgeois-democratic revolution did not take place in Russia[14]. Under these circumstances, Ukrainians together with Russians were more and more lagging behind the main European trends of national and state development. The result of such situation, and of the differential approach to national policy in different regions, was substantial differences in the tempo and levels of national development of peoples and ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. Moreover, in Western historiography it is fixed that Baltic peoples, for example, while developing their national identity in the 19th century, followed the German model of national development, which was supported by the elements of British and American models after the First and Second World Wars. In national and state formation it was the orientation toward the highest world cultural and economic standards. And, as a result, in 1920 – 1930 Estonia and Latvia belonged to the states of the highest grade of literacy in the world[15].

The particular feature of nation-forming and state creation within the borders of Austria-Hungary, Russian and the Ottoman Empires in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries, was mentioned by the American scholar A.D.Smith. He stressed that in contrast to West European traditions, nations in those states were created not on the basis of state apparatus and not within the existing borders, but on the basis of ethnic, linguistic and religious heritage[16]. Even the USSR was built on the principle of federation of Soviet national states, and this was, according to R.Suni, the experiment on creation of "the only state in the world, built according to the ethnic principle"[17].

After the USSR disintegration, Ukraine inherited the boundaries which were formed under the Soviet period, moreover, administrative apparatus was not principally changed, as there was no change of the ruling elite in the

state. This gives certain grounds to speak of the identity of state formation of Ukraine with that in post-colonial states of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which, according to A.Giddens, are trying to become nations basing on territories inherited from the colonial past, and the own administrative apparatus[18].

The dominating influence of historical traditions, dependence between the main religion and the modern process of formation of political systems in post-communist states, were shown by the well-known scholar H.Kitschelt. He introduced a very interesting classification of three types of political systems in these states. The first type includes patrimonial communist states where one of the fractions of former communists came to power having no strong opposition of anticommunist forces. They are Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia with the dominating influence of Orthodox tradition. (Though some researchers stress that "Ukraine is far from being a typical Orthodox state, with the same role of the Orthodox religion as in Russia"[19]). The second type contains bureaucratically-authoritarian communist systems where the former communist elite lost its identity as in the Czech Republic, former GDR, Latvia and Estonia. In religious aspect, Protestantism is dominating here. National-communist states – Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Litva, belong to the third type. In these countries opposition and former communists could co-ordinate their positions, and Catholic Church was of much importance here[20].

It goes without saying that during the Soviet period, most of national contradictions in Ukraine were settled by force, even by means of war, though in 1970 – 80s certain conservation of these problems took place. Even under these circumstances at the beginning of 1970s, T.Rakovska-Harmstone mentioned the paradox nature of results of the USSR national policy: it was formed the new type of nationalism of soviet national elite which agreed with the principles of existing political system, but gave up Russian leadership. In this respect, the rehabilitation of deported peoples and representatives of the USSR political authorities of 1930s, the attempt to reestimate historiography of national movements in the republics, demands to rehabilitate the "borot'bysts", academic discussions on the essence of soviet federalism in the middle of 1960s and others, were of great importance. Moreover, T.Rakovska-Harmstone came to the conclusion that "in fact, voice in Ukraine was risen for separatism, with the demand if independence, following the example of East European states"[21]. Having given the correct assessment to the USSR national problem, some western analysts emphasize that without the soviet factor Ukraine would never have had present borders from Uzhhorod to Donets'k and the Crimea[22]. As to ethnic homogenization in the state, the Soviet Union never supported this process.

Stateless status of Ukrainian people caused forming certain particulars of Ukrainians which exert their influence upon the development of modern state-creation. Their characteristic feature is lack of superpower ambitions, they are not orientated toward suppression of other peoples, they mainly demonstrate tolerance to national minorities. But this factor hinder the process of political and national emancipation, the essence of which, as stated by Polish researcher I.Kurchevska, is the enrichment of state ideology with national arguments; creation of institutions for protection of national heritage and culture; giving legal rights to national minorities; returning of national traditions in public discourse; reforming of the system of education and others[23]. These measures are especially important considering conditions of weak national identity of Ukrainians, evidence of ethnic cultural groups with hybrid consciousness. During 1990s for most Ukrainians, in contrast to Baltic peoples, it was not acceptable to determine their national identity by means of direct opposition and hostility toward Russians. According to sociological research held in Ukraine during 1990s, there is certain difference in national self-identification of the people due to historical and geographical factor. From western to eastern regions the part of original and self-identified Ukrainians is changing from 87,3 % of respondents in the western areas to 25,4 % in the eastern ones. Dual Ukrainian-Russian self-identification (both Ukrainian and Russian at the same time) is rather widely spread in Donets'k (54,6 %), Lugans'k (48,9 %), Odessa (41,1 %), Kharkiv (46,7 %) regions. This research has also proved that level of support of the idea of national independence is different: among respondents 70,1% of Ukrainians, 48,6% of "Ukrainians-Russians", 36,8% of Russians stood for its strengthening, In the west of Ukraine, twice more respondents supported the idea of strengthening independence, than in the east[24].

In this connection, the western scholars have certain grounds to determine new post-soviet states including Ukraine as "the regimes being nationalized"[25]. Despite possible consequences of this process the Russian factor will always be one of the main aspects of political life of Ukraine. About 11 million Russians dwelling here, which equals the numerical quantity of some average European state, are called not simply a national minority, but a superminority by some scholars. The important point is that about 6,5 million of them (about 56,7%) were born in Ukraine and Ukrainian cultural and social spheres are not alien to them.

Very interesting historiographical research by V.Petrovskyi[26] deals with present Russian-Ukrainian relations in their western interpretation. The fact that for the latest ten years this topic was partially or fully studied in 300 monographs and 1500 articles and reviews of the English language historiography, proves not only the rising interest to this topic, but also understanding of the long-term significance of the Russian factor and Russia's general influence on the modern socio-political life in Ukraine. In this sense, politilogists' forecasts look especially convincing. As the Ukrainian scholar Y.Zherebetskyi mentioned, due to an expected important change in geopolitical

situation in the near future, the loss of Siberia and the Far East, "Moscow would try to compensate it with its geopolitical success in the West, trying to join Ukraine and Bilorus"[27].

As far as Ukraine concerns, the analysts are expecting further development of wide discussion on the role of historical and cultural traditions in the process of state formation, and the using of national factor in the political struggle. Under these circumstances, the important point for scholars of social sciences is to realize that "cultural factor possesses the highest degree of correlation with political processes"[28]. Grounded scientific knowledge of the problems and state of Ukrainians and other peoples living on Ukrainian territory, is the important instrument in preventing complications of inter-ethnic relations. Even today it is clear that not only problems of our historical past, but also current steps in nation- and state formation may produce some false situation, inadequate to historical reality. For example, the leaders of the Jewish community in Ukraine do not agree with the results of the 2001 census of population, according to which the numerical quantity of the Jewish people makes up 103.591 and insist on the fact that it is from 300 to 500 thousand people. To their mind, about 200 thousand Ukrainian citizens at the least, were afraid to inform their nationality because of deeply historically rooted fear[29].

Painful historical facts, complicated socio-political reality for Ukrainian people to prove their independence, make historical research even more significant, cause wide discussion and scientific debates, co-ordination of efforts of native and foreign scholars. The problem of particular historical influence on the modern process of state formation in Ukraine is multi-sided and needs not only concentration of efforts of many experts but also considering thorough research done by western scholars with their rich experience of studying state formation problems. It is especially important under present conditions when due to the deep socio-political alterations at the end of the 20th century, on the whole post-soviet area the methodological principles and many historical theories having been considered the most stable, are changed.

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Наталія ТЕРЕС
Київ

ІСТОРИЧНІ ТРАДИЦІЇ ТА СУЧАСНЕ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ДЕРЖАВНЕ БУДІВНИЦТВО В УКРАЇНІ В ОЦІНЦІ ЗАРУБІЖНОЇ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ

Стаття присвячена вивченню в англомовній зарубіжній історіографії окремих аспектів впливу історичних та історико-культурних традицій на процес державотворення в сучасній Україні. Звертається увага на здобутки зарубіжних дослідників у вивченні зв'язку між формуванням нації та утворенням держави, оцінкою значення та впливу Російської, Австро-Угорської імперій та СРСР на процес формування головних державотворчих засад сучасної України.

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Kyiv

UKRAINIAN NAPOLEON STUDIES: ACHIEVEMENTS AND TASKS

The name of Napoleon Bonaparte, the commander, the conqueror and the emperor of the French went down in history of the mankind forever. Some people admiringly call him a man of genius, the greatest ever in the world. Others consider him to be a tyrant, a criminal, who for many years shed Europe with blood for his unrestrained love for power. A great number of legends have appeared around his name and it is often hard to differentiate between the true and the fictitious ones.

The man who for about twenty years was holding sway over military and political life of the European continent and who was the supporter of one of the most radical anti-monarchical revolutions in the world actually became its "grave-digger" and performed a kind of monarchy restoration and then headed it by having established a new dynasty. The man, who talked a lot about peace in Europe and who wanted to look like a peace-maker, permanently waged wars participating in person in so many of them, that few of the most outstanding military men happened to take part even for a longer periods of their lives. And there are very many problems like these. Therefore, it's no wonder that for short two hundred years more books have been written about Napoleon than about any other person. It is not an exaggeration. According to academician Y.V.Tarle, Napoleonic historiography is "truly colossal"[1].

Napoleon era was studied by historians of almost all countries of the world, and in particular Ukrainian explorers paid a great attention to the activities of the French Emperor.

Denis I.Zubritskyy (1777 – 1862)[2], the witness and the participant of many events in Europe on the border of 18th – 19th centuries, the founder of a systematic study of the Ukrainian history in Halychyna and the author of "The Chronicle of the French revolution from 1789 to 1811", where he considered Eastern-European politics of Napoleon in context of the problems of the Polish state revival, was one of the first researchers, who scrutinized the activity (specifically the foreign policy) of Napoleon Bonaparte in Ukrainian historiography.

"The Chronicle" was found in the funds of Manuscripts Department of Lviv State Museum and it was first

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described and analyzed by V.Adadurov and M.Rozhyk, the scientists from Lviv. In their opinion, this work by Zubritskyy initiated the study of foreign history in Ukrainian historiography[3].

The author of "The Chronicle" was the secretary of Peremyshl government, a new provisional governmental body established on May 28, 1809 by the Polish from Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the satellite of Napoleon France. After October 14, 1809 Austria renewed the control over the major part of Eastern Galychyna in accordance with Shenbrun Peace. Zubritskyy was disabled to hold administrative posts for his "anti-government" activity. This let him go in for scientific effort and, in particular, write a work dedicated to the events of the French revolution at the close of the 18th century and Napoleon era, thus leaving behind many Western-European researchers.

"The Chronicle of the French Revolution" is based on numerous newspaper reports of diverse origin as well as on military "Bulletins" of the Austrian and French armies. The nature of the materials, according to the above-mentioned researchers, gives us the reasons to think that it isn't only Austrian and Polish press but also original French periodicals, hard-to-get in the Austrian Empire taking into account its permanent wars with France. It can be evidenced by the fact that the author makes several references to "The Monitor"[4], the French governmental body, as an important source for studying the events of the late 18th – the early 19th century.

Substantial part of the book is devoted to the activity of Napoleon Bonaparte (the author starts tracing it beginning from 1790). Special attention is given to the Italian campaign of 1796 – 1797, where the talent of Napoleon as a commander and a statesman first became apparent with his independent views on current foreign policy processes, Napoleon's coming to power (the overturn of Brumaire, 18 1799), the foreign policy of the consulate and the empire, in particular, the wars of Napoleon France with almost entire Europe[5]. However, Napoleon diplomacy is illustrated here only in fragments. At the same time, as the above-mentioned scientists specified, that Zubitskyy was disabled to witness further events as well as the lack of latest newspaper reports didn't allow him to finish his work logically with collapse of Napoleon Empire in 1814[6].

Nevertheless, despite some drawbacks, "The Chronicle" is a valuable source of Napoleon era, built upon a critical use of documentary sources. Regardless of author's certain sympathy to France and Napoleon's personality in particular, the chronicler was generally objective in reflecting different aspects of French and European history of the late 18th – the early 19th centuries[7].

A number of international aspects of the Polish issue, particularly, the events of Franco-Austrian war of 1809 became the subject under consideration for Ukrainian researchers of the late 19th – the early 20th centuries, who were estimating them in context of the Eastern Galychina history study[8].

A course of lectures entitled "An Outline of the Latest Russian History"[9] by professor M.V.Dovnar-Zapolskyy, one of the outstanding figures of Professor V.B. Antonovych"s school, was edited in Kyiv in 1912. The whole complex of Russian-French relationships in 1801 – 1814 was analyzed in this course against the background of the Russian history of the 19th century. However, the actions of Napoleonic diplomacy were illustrated rather fragmentary.

Among the papers concerning the issue in question published at that time, the work by O.Levytskyy[10] should be marked out, in which he described the activity of Napoleon agents in the Ukrainian lands that belonged to the Russian Empire.

In 1937 in the Western Ukraine the work of I.Borshchak[11], a well-known Ukrainian researcher was published. Basing on numerous archive materials mostly the French ones, the author studied the plans and the actions of Napoleonic diplomacy concerning the Ukrainian lands of the former Rech Pospolita.

Here we first learn about the plans of the French diplomacy concerning those regions of Ukraine which were part of Russian Empire specified by O.Goteriv,, the Policy Director of Foreign Office of France, at the beginning of 1812 in a special memorial. In this memorial Napoleon was suggested to establish an "independent" state, consisting of Poltava and Chernigiv Duchies along the Dnipro river stream from the Desna River to the city of Orel. Cossacks and Crimean Tatars would come into the new "Napoleonida" state, consisting of the Dnipro part of Katerinoslav region, Tavria and the whole valley of the Donets River up to the Don River which, along with the Black and Azov Seas, would be the state southern border. This new state, "headed by the only leader and the constitution satisfying the customs of these nations, with a possible prospect of political independence, would be a powerful barrier to ambitious projects of Russia and its pretensions concerning the Black Sea"[12].

At the same time, from the standpoint of a contemporary historical science the conclusion drawn by I.Borshchak that "Napoleon made use of Poland, but did not want to do anything for the country itself"[13] requires much reconsideration.

In 1938 – 1939, a successive volume of Historical library – "The World's History" was published in Lviv, the author of which was I.P.Krypyakevych, a famous Ukrainian historian and a future academician of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In line with other events of the world's history, he examined the foreign policy of France in the late 18th – the early 19th centuries, and the Napoleonic wars in particular. In 1939 the last 20th volume was published (out of 22 planned to be published), for on September 1, 1939 the World War II broke out bringing to

the Western Ukraine the Soviet Regime as well as Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the history. Only after the breakdown of the Soviet Union an unabridged edition of this work was published with volume 3 touching upon this issue[14]. Yet in this work the Napoleon activity of foreign policy and French diplomacy were described fragmentary.

Despite the fact that many years have passed since the book was written, this work by Krypyakevych is still actual, because it was created impartially without any ideological stamps.

In the Soviet times, namely from 1930s up to the late 1980s, an exclusive party-class approach to the cognition of social phenomena held sway over interpretation of the world's history problems. The above approach turned any historical process into the instrument of policy making scientific studies dependent on this policy and the development of these studies impossible without a total control. At the same time monographs were being written and theses defended on this problem mainly by Russian scientists[15].

As for Ukraine, Napoleon subjects weren't considered actual and priority-driven for the Ukrainian scientists. For the same reasons there were no experts in Napoleon history in Ukraine, although the professional level, in our opinion, allowed us to perform the reconnaissance on the given problem. At the same time, some researchers in the context of the Ukrainian history described certain problems of Napoleon era, in particular the participation of the Ukrainian representatives in the Russian-French war of 1812. Here they didn't reveal Napoleon's activity, and his plans concerning Ukraine weren't either studied at all or they were illustrated skin-deep[16].

However, there were some researchers who illustrated the actions of Napoleon himself as well as the activities of his diplomacy.

In 1945, in Kyiv V.M.Kotov defended a thesis on "Ukraine in Aggressive Plans of Napoleon I". The author tried at least to put this question before the Soviet historical science[17], and he succeeded in doing that. Basing on the materials of 2 Kyiv archives, the releases, in particular the collections of works of the Russian historical society, the memoirs and works of Polish and Russian scientists, he was the first in the Soviet historical science to show Napoleon plans concerning Ukraine in opposition to Russia. He described the activity of Napoleon agents in the Ukrainian lands and showed it to be a form of psychological pressure on Russia before the war (1812). V.M.Kotov can be certainly considered the successor of the scientific studies of I.Borshchak whose works were forbidden in the Soviet Union.

However, giving its due to the time, Kotov "blamed" him for "the bourgeois nationalism", but impartially treated the scientific reconnaissance of a famous historian and his monograph named "Napoleon and Ukraine"[18] in particular. 20 years later V.Kotov issued an article entitled "Aggressive plans of Napoleon I concerning Ukraine and the collapse of these plans in 1812"[19]. Unfortunately, for the lack of materials of other archives, the French published documents and the correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte himself, here as well as in his thesis, he failed to show in full the Napoleon plans concerning Ukraine and the role of Osman Empire in these plans during the preparation for the war with Russia (1811 – 1812).

Shortly after V.Kotov, in Kherson Ye.D. Verbytskyy defended a thesis on the issues of Russian-French relations in 1800 – 1803, basing on a wide range of scientific sources, primarily the materials of Russian archives and a number of printed works. He was the first in the Ukrainian Soviet historiography to show the activities of Napoleon as an actual leader of the foreign policy of France in those days[20]. Among other publications dealing with the above issue, one should mention the textbook by O.K.Dzhedzhula in which he gave an open orthodox Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the history[21].

In 1964 (Kyiv) B.S.Abalihin[22] defended the Ph.D. thesis. Using considerable archive materials and documents of one Russian and four Ukrainian archives in particular, the correspondence of Napoleon, the Russian and Soviet published documents, memoirs as well as the works of the Polish, Russian, Ukrainian and Soviet researchers, in the Chapter I of his dissertation study entitled "Ukraine before the war of 1812", unlike V.Kotov, he illustrated the activities of the French agents and emissaries acting in the Ukrainian lands which belonged to the Russian Empire before the French-Russian war (1811 – 1812) in more detail. He also showed the roles of Austria and the Osman Empire in Napoleon Bonaparte plans in preparing and carrying out the Russian campaign. In 1962 the brochure of this author entitled "The Ukrainian nation in Patriotic war of 1812" was published in Kyiv.

At the same time, in our opinion, the author is not quite right in his interpretation of Napoleon plans concerning Russia right after Tilzit. He asserted that "After Tilzit (1807) the French diplomacy made efforts to isolate Russia and to deprive it from its allies in the future war. For this purpose Napoleon and his diplomatists used all means including threatening, bribery and making advances. In secret negotiations the French Government carried on with the ruling circles of Poland, Austria and Turkey, in line with other lands the Ukrainian territory was promised to the above countries in exchange for their participation in the campaign against Russia"[23]. But, as we know, it happened somewhat later.

However, it must be marked out that despite the number of works on this issue, the tendentious approach to describing the French revolution history of the late 18th century and Napoleonic Empire was generally typical of

Ukrainian Soviet researchers as well as of all Soviet researchers. The above approach was conditioned by the Soviet scientist' non-recognition of anything progressive in the activity of Napoleon and the estimation of the regime established by him. Y.Tarle described that regime as "The dictatorship of counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie"[24]. Professor A.Z.Manfred called it "A new step in the development of bourgeois counter-revolution"[25].

After the breakdown of the USSR and the declaration of the independence of Ukraine, a modern stage in studying the world's history problems commenced. National historiography has gradually left its class approach to the estimation of past historical events. Among the latest studies, in which different directions of the Napoleon foreign policy are shown, one should mention the theses of A.Adadurov and O.Zakharchyuk

Thus, the thesis of a young historian Adadurov is dedicated to French-Austrian rivalry in the period of the Napoleonic wars in context of the Polish issue[26].

A wide range of scientific sources, including almost unknown to the scientists documents and materials, which were found in manuscript collections of archives, the libraries and museums of Lviv and Krakow, was used in the thesis, that made it possible to study French-Austrian relations in the context of the Polish issue in more detail.

The published documents, including the publications of French, Austrian, Polish and Russian military and diplomatic correspondence were analyzed in the study together with the unpublished materials. The fundamental collection of Napoleon's correspondence and its appendixes containing a political, military and administrative correspondence of the French Emperor must be paid special attention to[27].

The publication of the letters written to Napoleon by the French state and military men involved somehow in the determination of the First Empire policy in the Polish issue, including Talleyrand, the Head of Foreign Office, and the Vice-Chancellor J.-J.Cambaceres, residents in Warsaw E.Vensan and G.Serra, Marshals Louis Davout and Joachim Murat[28], should be marked out as well as fundamental publications of the correspondence dated 1806 – 1807 and 1809 concerning French military and diplomatic activities, peace treaties and conventions drawn between France and Austria in the late 18th – the early 19th centuries[29]. It is these sources that allowed us to follow Napoleon views on the Polish issue.

Along with the official document publications, the author used a large amount of memoirs literature and periodicals shedding some light on the Polish issue in the international relationship of the Napoleonic wars. They are as follows: the French governmental print "Monitor Universal", "Journal de Frankfor" and "Courier d'Ambur" , the newspapers of the Rhine Confederation; the Austrian officials "Viner Caitung" and "Pressburger Caitung", "Krakov Newspaper" and "Lviv Newspaper" (till 1811), as well as "Warsaw Newspaper", "The Warsaw Correspondent Newspaper" and "Poznan Newspaper", the periodicals of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, that were performed in the Napoleonic propaganda style.

In line with the above sources, a number of special scientific sources are used in the thesis, including numerous works by the Austrian, German, Polish, Russian and French researchers.

At the same time, in our opinion, the study could have been more profound and substantial if the author had used the materials of the Austrian, French and Russian archives concerning the issue. This could have broadened the resource base of the study and enriched its content.

The scientific novelty of the study lies in the first attempt of the domestic and foreign historiography to synthesize into a single historical picture such elements of the contemporary international situation as the relations at the levels like "France – Austria", "France – the Polish", "Austria – the Polish" and "Galychina and the Duchy of Warsaw in the International relations system", taking into account the influence of all significant factors[30].

After defending his thesis, the above researcher continues working on the issue[31].

Soon after V.Adadurov, the author of the article defended his own thesis, the scientific novelty of which lies in the study of force methods and means of the Napoleonic diplomacy and the analysis of its main principles and directions . The evolution of Napoleon's views on the force as an instrument of the foreign policy was studied; a component of non-military force methods was revealed in the general system of the Napoleonic "force diplomacy"; and the ratio was determined for the military and non-military components in Napoleon's foreign policy strategy in particular. The forms and methods of the French diplomacy activity in Napoleon's anti-coalition struggle were illustrated and the methods of force pressure of Napoleonic France on the European countries were considered[32]. The above researcher continues working on the issue[33].

A number of scientific works on the issue have been published recently in the context of the development of different aspects of the domestic history[34].

A considerable build-up in the Ukrainian historiography forms certain backgrounds for historical reconnaissance in the field of the world Napoleoniana. In our opinion, further archive work and the summarization of the published documental materials touching upon Napoleon's plans concerning Ukraine, as well as the complex study of the French history of Napoleon era in the light of new achievements of the historical science and recent socio-political changes on the map of Europe, have great outlooks.

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Олег ЗАХАРЧУК
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УКРАЇНСЬКЕ НАПОЛЕОНОЗНАВСТВО: ЗДОБУТКИ Й ЗАВДАННЯ

Висвітлюється військова та зовнішньополітична діяльність Наполеона Бонапарта в працях українських істориків, окреслюються окремі перспективні напрями діяльності імператора французів. Особлива увага приділяється тим розвідкам української наполеоніани, де автори задіяли нові архівні матеріали та першоджерела. Робиться порівняльний аналіз концептуальних підходів українських істориків до постаті та діяльності Наполеона I, зокрема, розкривається сутність надмірно ідеологізованого підходу до цієї проблеми за радянських часів. Стверджується, що українське наполеонознавство зробило певний внесок у дослідженні Французької революції кінця XVIII ст. та Першої імперії у Франції (1804 – 1814 рр.).

Nadija IEFYMYSHCH
Kyiv

THE PEOPLE OF THE FINNISH-PERM ETHNIC GROUP IN UKRAINE

The Kyiv Cultural Society of Finnish-Perm Peoples (KCSFPP) was founded in April, 1996 as a public, non-commercial organization. It's basic purpose is the preservation of customs and traditions of Finno-Ugric peoples.

The society represents cultural interests of Finno-Ugric diaspora (except for Hungarians) in Ukraine. The chairman of the society is Nadiia Iefymyshch (Fedoseieva). Membership in KCSFPP fluctuates. The Kyiv branch of the society counts 25 active members. There are branches in Kryvyi Rih, in Crimea, in Sumy, in Kharkiv, in Donets'k.

KCSFPP is a member of the Council of National Companies of Ukraine (part of the Congress of National Minorities). In 1998, KCSFPP became the member of the M.Kastren Society in Finland.

The Kyiv society takes part in the organization of conferences and seminars concerning the problems of national minorities in Ukraine. In 1998, it was one of the initiators of the all-Ukrainian conference "Social Protection of National Minorities" (chairman – Nadiia Iefymyshch). In March 1998, during the pre-election campaign, the society took part in a round table session entitled "Formation of a Civil Society". The head of the Information Department of the society, Rostyslav Martyniuk, delivered a report on the national epos of the Erzia, "Mastorava," at the international conference "Kalevala: The Finnish Contribution to European Spirituality," which was held in May 1999. It was the first presentation of the epos of the Finno-Volga people in Ukraine.

The society actively presents information in the Ukrainian mass-media, for example in the Kyiv newspapers "Khreshchatyk", "Ukrains'ke Slovo", and "Ukraina Moloda", in the Sumy newspapers "Hrono" and "Orfei", in the Rivne newspaper – "Nash Biznes", in the international magazine of Ukrainian emigrants "Shliakh Svobody." It publishes analytical articles about the life of the Finno-Ugric diaspora in Ukraine, on the national-political movement of Carelians, Erzia, Marries, Moksha in the Russian Federation. In October 2001, the society published an analytical article "The Finno-Ugric chronicle" in the weekly journal "Shliakh Peremohy." In April 2001, KCSFPP delegated it's member for participation in the opening of the Information Center of the Finno-Ugric Peoples "Komiinform" in Syktyvkar (Komi Republic). Rostyslav Martynyuk was elected a member of the Coordination Council of "Komiinform" in Ukraine. Information regarging this event appeared on the following TV-channels: UT-2 and "TV Tabachuk". In 1988, the newsletter of the Society "Ukraine" was first published, the web site (www.kominarod.narod.ru) was created, the public library of KCSFPP was opened (it contains about 200 books in the Komi-Perm, Finnish, Estonian and Moksha languages. The first contribution to the library was made by the Ambassador of Finland in Ukraine, Marty Isoaro, and by the corresponding member of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Orest Tkachenko.

In 2000 – 2001, the society took part in the organization of Ukrainian research expeditions to concentration camps in Karelia where during communist rule Ukrainian, Finnish, Udmurt cultural workers were executed. Rostyslav Martynyuk took part in the memorial actions of the Karelian government.

In April 2002, members of the society took part in the international campaign for the protection of the rights of the Mari people to be educated in their native language in the Republic of Maria El. The Informational Department of KSCFPP organized a series of interviews with politicians and leaders of the Finno-Ugric diaspora in Ukraine.

The majority of members of the organization are women, who in 1997 created an all-women group "Suomi" within the KSCFPP. The aim of this group is to promote resolutions on social-psychological adaptation within modern society and to introduce principles of gender equality.

In the first year the group became a member of the Female Consortium of CIS-USA in Ukraine, of the WFM (Women Leaders of National Minorities) at the Council of Europe. Members of the group participated in international forums and seminars in Kyiv, Alushta, Stockholm, Budapest, Strasbourg, and Moscow.

KCSFPP supports contacts with the Society for the Rescue of the Ersia Language headed by Ryabov (Mordovia Republic), with the National-Cultural Autonomy Besermies of Udmurtiya, with the Polar Society of Maris of "Maria El" (Republic of Komi), with the Komi-Permyaks Publishing House in Kudymkar, with the all-Mari

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Council "Mar Kanash", with the Society "Maria Ushem" (Maria El's Republic), with the Petrozavodsk Society "Memorial" (Karelia), with the Kargumyat Municipal Museum of Belomor-Baltic Channel (Karelia), with the Saransk Art Museum (Republic Mordovia), with the Estonian Institute in Tallinn, etc.

According to the national census of 1989, the following representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples live in Ukraine: Vepsians – 169; Estonians – 4202; Izhorians – 9; Karelians (including Tver) – 2276; Komi – 3959; Komi – Permyaks – 2146; Livonians – 6; Mansi – 37; Mari – 7368; Moksha and Erzya (mordvins) – 19332; Udmurts – 8583; Finns-Suomi and Finns-Ingermanlands – 1086; and Khanty – 91. The total being 68,578 persons.

Надія ЄФИМИЩ
Київ

НАРОДИ ФІНО-ПЕРМСЬКОЇ ЕТНІЧНОЇ ГРУПИ В УКРАЇНІ

В статті висвітлюється діяльність Київського товариства культури народів фіно-пермської етнічної групи. Товариство представляє культурні інтереси діаспор фінно-пермських народів, які проживають в Україні. Відкрити відділення Товариства у м. Кривий Ріг, в Криму, в Сумах, Донецьку, Харкові.

Київське товариство бере участь в організації заходів з проблем життєдіяльності етнічних громад України. Створено громадську бібліотеку, в якій представлені книжки українською, комі-перм'яцькою, російською, фінською, естонською та мокшанською мовами.

При Товаристві створено жіночий клуб "Суомі". Його мета – вирішення питань соціально-психологічної адаптації в сучасному суспільстві та гендерні дослідження.

Iryna KOLODUK
Kyiv

ZORIANA BOLTAROVYCH – A RESEARCHER OF UKRAINIAN FOLK MEDICINE

It is impossible to examine folk medicine without considering the works by Zoriana Evhenivna Boltarovych, the researcher who made a great contribution to the study of this subject. Though she was interested in a number of themes in Ukrainian ethnology, and published the monograph "Ukraine in the Research of Polish Ethnographers of the 19th century" (1976), most of her time and strength was spent researching folk medicine which she saw an integral field of traditional folk culture. As a result of her prolonged work she gathered a large and, in many cases, unique body of original material. Boltarovych supplemented her field work with numerous archival sources, data from publications and specialized literature. These materials are focused not only on the folk medicine of Ukrainians, but also considered the folk medicine of many other nations[1].

Z.Boltarovych researched folk medicine in certain regions of Ukraine and published a series of articles and scholarly works[2]. Two of her articles "Folk Medicine of Ukrainians in Polissia" and "Folk Medicine and Veterinary Medicine"[3], she wrote together with the Belorus' researcher L.Minko. These articles reveal the researcher's interest in the specific aspects of Polissia's folk medicine that are tied to the region's social, economic and cultural development, as well as way of life, which fostered the preservation of traditions, including those associated with folk medicine.

The author researches such topics as the species of plants used in folk medicine, the methods of the production of plant medicines, medical substances of animal and mineral products, and the use of water and fire in medical magic. Relating the traditions, legends and popular beliefs that are connected with the gathering of medical herbs, their conservation and medicinal preperation in Polissia, the author recognizes similarities with other regions of Ukraine and even broader Slavic territories but focuses on distinguishing characteristics. For example, she highlights the use of plants characteristic for Polissia, such as acorus, marsh's mud, mushrooms, Polissia melissa, buckwheat

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flowers. She points out the use of poisonous plants, a wide use of medical plant mixtures, a characteristic feature of Polissia's folk medicine together with the wide use of medical plants' mixtures. In their folk self-treatments, the inhabitants of Polissia use a wide variety of mushrooms[4].

It's worth mentioning that Boltarovych's publications are among the few scholarly works devoted to the folk medicine of Polissia[5]. It's also important to emphasize that this field is still unstudied and requires scholarly attention. It is timely to turn our attention to this region, not only because of the tragedy in Chernobyl, but also because of Polissia's unique natural geographical conditions (almost inaccessible forests and marshes) and demographic development, which have contributed to the preservation of many ancient material and spiritual cultural features by the regions. These features go back to ancient times and are an invaluable source for the study of ethnic Ukrainian and also Slavic history.

The monograph "Folk Medicine of Ukrainians of the Carpathians at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century" by Boltarovych is an important contribution. (Kyiv, 1980) The precise topics of her research are two ethnographic groups – the Hutsuls and Boikians. The choice of the theme was stipulated by the specific features of folk medicine, encountered among the inhabitants of the Carpathian Mountains. The folk medicine of this region preserves many archaic features due to the particular socioeconomic, traditional cultural and geographic conditions[6] Boltarovych pays particular attention to the treatments that use herbs, medical made of animal and mineral substances and considers medical magic. According to the author, the purpose of new research was "to show the place and the role of folk treatment in the life of the Carpathians' inhabitants, to dissociate the regional methods and ways of folk medicine from the actions and methods of medical magic so as to apply this knowledge in scientific medicine, and also to discover the specific characteristics of folk treatments of the Carpathian population and to identify the analogies with the folk medicine of other Eastern Slavs"[7].

Z.Boltarovych's work "Folk Medicine of Ukrainians" is also of interest. In this work, on the basis of literary sources, of archival data, and of field research, the author makes an attempt to reconstruct folk medicine practices of Ukrainians living at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century, and to place her findings in the context of East Slavic practices.

"Ukrainian Folk Medicine" by Z.Boltarovych is more popular in character and intended for the general reader. The work offers concrete advice and recommendations for various ailments on the basis of folk remedies.

The value of Z.Boltarovych's works is that they collect, systematize and analyze age-old experiences, methods and practices of folk medicine. Boltarovych has studied numerous aspects of folk medicine including medicinal magic and treatments using herbs. She has devoted time to the study of medicine made from animal and mineral products, and has considered the origins of the popular names of diseases, their aetiology and diagnostics. The researcher claims that science is of overwhelming importance, but the achievements of folk haven't lost their significance and shouldn't be forgotten"[8]. Z.Boltarovych does not agree with those researchers who separate folk medicine from sorcery, and views such distinction as arbitrary because "the latter is not only based on irrational experiences, but its methods and ways of treatment connect rational practices with magical activities. Putting aside the magical component, it is necessary to acknowledge the rational knowledge and accumulated experiences that inform the work of specialists, who sometimes achieve phenomenal results in their branch of treatment"[9].

Z.Boltarovych studies the folk medicine of Ukrainians within the Eastern Slavic context; she draws comparisons and analogies with the folk medicine of Russia and Belorus. She concludes that "the overwhelming majority of prophylactic cures for ailments, the world outlook regarding illnesses and their causes, and opinions about folk doctors and their means of treatment have much in common among the different Slavic peoples"[10].

Z.Boltarovych believes that "the methods of folk medicine mustn't be forgotten. The studying of folk medicine requires a multidisciplinary approach, including the collaboration of ethnographers with experts in the medical biological sciences. Ethnographic studies on folk medicine can be a significant source for the discovery of new medicines and methods of treatment"[11].

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Ірина КОЛОДЮК
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ЗОРЯНА БОЛТАРОВИЧ – ДОСЛІДНИЦЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ НАРОДНОЇ МЕДИЦИНИ

Зоряна Болтарович – дослідниця народної медицини українців, заслуга якої полягає у тому, що вона зібрала, систематизувала, узагальнила конкретні дані багатовікового досвіду, способів і засобів народного самолікування, намагалась дослідити всі ділянки народної медицини – лікувальну магію, траволікування, – займалась вивченням ліків тваринного та мінерального походження, народних назв хвороб, їх етіології та діагностики. Була переконана, що вивчення народної медицини вимагає комплексного підходу, тісного співробітництва етнографів із спеціалістами медико-біологічних наук.

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BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS IN RITUAL FESTIVALS OF THE PRYAZOVS'KI GREEKS

In the life of each nation beliefs play a very important role. These beliefs are usually connected with the official religion and certainly with primeval beliefs. Every person to some extent is a pagan. We can often hear a priest say: "Don't forget the trizna". This is a remainder of primeval beliefs, of which there are many examples .

Vivid remainders of pagan times are preserved in the cultural traditions Pryazovs'ki Greeks who inhabited the Doneck region. They settled there with permission of the Russian Empress Ekaterina II in 1779. This ethnic group is usually divided by the researchers into Greek – Ellins (Rumeis) and Greek – Tatars (Urums). The Way of life and the language of Urums is different from that of the Rumeis. The beliefs of the Ukrainian Greeks were studied by A.P.Kosse in the article "The ritual of sacrifice as an important part of the Greek festival "Panair"[1] and V.Shevchenko in "An attempt to describe and to explain two spring bread festivals of the Mariupol Greeks"[2].

This article is based on the materials, that were gathered by the author during an independent expedition into Urumian villages in the summer of 2002. The author visited such villages as Starobeshevo in the Starobeshevsky district and Andreevka, Belokamianka and Staroignatievka in the Telmanovsky district of the Donetck region[3].

I would like to focus on traditional Greek festivals as they are very interesting and not well researched. In this festivals we can see the connection between the present and the past and observe the remainders of the primeval beliefs.

The first among them is the "Schanchih" (in literal translation – "mouse"). This festival was celebrated on the 25th day after Easter, and organized by an individual family that asked about 20 – 50 persons to their home. The invitation was made only by women. They called at the house and announced the place and the time of the festival. Various dishes were cooked for the festival, and there were special biscuits in the form of birds. They were baked from yeast dough. After all these preparations people went out into the fields or a hill "to be closer to God". When they reached their aimed location the host scattered these biscuits and the other people had to catch them and eat. V.Shevchenko analyzed this custom and he came to the conclusion that all these actions are magic incarnation of mice that bring great harm to the fields. The peasants of one village, say that it is forbidden to sleep during this day. It is believed that the mice will eat all the clothes of the person who sleeps. V.Shevchenko also thinks that "the mouse" here is similar to "the mouse Apollo", an agricultural God, who drives mice away from the fields[4].

After all these actions in the field people used to return home and continue the celebration. Later they had a

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collective dinner (trapeza) and one of the guests volunteered to host the festival at his house the next time.

It is interesting to note, that “Schanchih” chronologically coincides with Rahmansky Easter, celebrated in the Carpathians and in Podolia. Guzul people believe that Rahmans live in the underwater world. This is obviously a remainder of ancient beliefs, connected with the cult of ancestors[5].

Artu is another spring festival, the Greeks celebrated is on Monday in Fomin week. The host invited about 50 people, mostly relatives and close friends. All the guests brought dishes for a collective dinner. On the eve of the festival special bread was baked which was called “artos”. It was decorated with images of the cross and “branches” made of dough. On the day of the celebration a group of people went into the fields and the host rolled the bread. During this action the person that wanted to organize the next Artu had to catch the bread. Later all the guests returned home and ate the bread and the other meals. According to V.Shevchenko the custom of rolling the bread is widely spread among all Eastern Slaves. Nevertheless this tradition of going into the field with bread decorated with “branches” harks back to the ancient times and archaic beliefs[6].

Thus it can be concluded that these spring festivals are of agricultural origin. They are intended to preserve and increase the crop with the help of magic rituals. The ritual of baking and collective dinner can be regarded as remainders of the sacrificial trapeza.

When studying both these festivals scholars encounter a number of problems. One of them is that these festivals disappeared in everyday life of Greeks in the 1980s. Older people (and not only they) certainly remember everything very well, but the young know nothing. The same has happened with Ukrainian traditions which have disappeared.

The most prominent traditional festival of the Priazovs’ky Greeks is “Panair”. This religious festival means “sacrifice”. When a man asked God to save his life or to help him in business, he promised God to celebrate a “Panaire” in return[7]. Currently, “Panair” is celebrated only by the families with very sick members. In this way they ask God for good health. “Panair” is usually celebrated on the day of any religious festival. Preparations for “Panair” are made in advance; a calf, 3 or 4 sheeps and some poultry are fattened nicely before the festival.

The host usually invites some women to his home. They put wheat in the middle of a low round “Greek” table and put a lighted candle there. The women sort out the wheat and then use it to cook sweet kutia. At the end of the preparations the host treats these women to some food. Then the owner of the house invites two more women. They take a bucket full of kutia and bread (or biscuits) and invite people to the “Panair”. Kutia and the bread are given to relatives and close friends and they in their turn have to inform other people. In this way everyone makes contributions for his own health. One week before the festival people bring sugar, flour, butter, sour cream, money and live poultry to the house, where the “Panair” is to be held. However, the poultry cannot be tied, this is regarded as a great transgression. The host hires an experienced cook-ashchana.

There are two main dishes for this festival: the drink “bozu” and “hurban”. Bozu is a light alcoholic drink that made from fermented bread baked from barely flour. They usually make about 1,5 – 2 thousand liters of this drink. It tastes like ordinary bread kvas, but bozu is not strained and is drunk stirring the sediment.

The process of cooking “hurban” is rather interesting. It has to be boiled only at night and only on an opened fire. Mutton, veal and poultry should be boiled separately to the state when it’s still a little tough. Later this meal is placed on the tables in the garden for cooking. It is believed that, when the meat is being cooled in that way “the stream goes to the sky to God”. This is the main element of sacrifice. When people killed an animal in ancient times, only the blood was sacrificed to God, and the meat was eaten by the people. Presently, the steam is believed to propitiate God. Wheat porridge is also cooked to go with the meat.

On the day of the “Panair” people come from all the nearest villages. They come with crockery to take bozu and food for those families that can’t come. The food on Panair has magic potentials; the man that eats it becomes healthy. A.Kosse believes that during such festivals not only the ties between the men and God become closer but also the ties between the members of the group guided by Him[8].

Very often a priest is invited to the “Panair” to deliver a blessing. Later all the people sit down at the table. If there is a person, that wants to organize another panair, he openly speaks of this. He sits in the center of the table and two breads are brought to him. But if nobody wants to take on the festival then the host can put bread before anyone and no one has the right to refuse. After trapeza, when “Panair” is passed on, people bring to the new host 10 liter of bozu, a bucked of meat, 2 live hens and some biscuits. There were some cases, when none took on the “Panaire” and the host didn’t give it to anyone. In such cases the “panair” was brought to the church (2 breads) and those who wished could “take” it there.

The essence of the “panair” is as following people come to a collective dinner (trapeza) and make their contribution to improve the health of a sick person and at the same time they improve their own health and the health of their family. By the way, people can come to this house during 3 days.

A resident of the village Staroignatievka related an incident from his life: “Once “Panaire” was assigned to my father, but our family was very big and very poor. We had a calf and nothing else. We asked old people for advice and they said to slaughter that calf and to give out the meat. My parents did this. That very night my mother saw

a very old man in her dream, who said to her: “You think you gave the meat out and that everything is over? No you can’t do so, you will get nowhere…” So two years later, we organized a real “Panair”. We layed the table 13 times! My brother and I were terribly bozu bringing to the table…”[9]

Donezk region is inhabited not only by the Greeks, but also by Ukrainian and Russian people. It is rather interesting, that not only the adaptation of traditions, but also their reunion took place. For example, last year in Staroignatievka village “Panair” was organized by a Ukrainian family that comes from the city of Slovetchina in the Zhytomyr region.

The above-mentioned information outlines several moments in the spiritual life of the Ukrainian Greeks. We can see that old customs and contemporary traditions enrich each other.

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[8] Коссе А.П. Op. cit. – P. 24.
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ВІРУВАННЯ І ТРАДИЦІЇ В СВЯТАХ ПРИАЗОВСЬКИХ ГРЕКІВ

Автор описує традиційні свята греків України, які побутували ще у середині XX сторіччя. Це свята – “счанчих”, “арту” і “панаір”. У них збережені пережитки первісних вірувань. Окремі з них поступово трансформуються, частково виходять з побуту, але зберігаються в пам’яті людей старшого віку. Дослідження ґрунтується на матеріалах, зібраних автором під час самостійного експедиційного дослідження деяких урумських сіл Тельманівського та Старобешівського районів Донецької області.

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MEANING OF THE "PALYTSIA" AND THE "BATIH" IN UKRAINIAN WEDDING CEREMONY

The traditional wedding ceremony contributes to the regulation of social relations both within legal and psychological contexts. The wedding is a kind of boundary not only for the newly wedded and their families, but for the entire community. The formation of a new family requires, the presence of the laws according to which the relations between families. It also involves psychological aspect that effect the creation of mythological space. The structure of the wedding custom addresses such needs. The presence of this structure creates a system of actions where every participant plays a certain role and assumes a given place. Appropriate symbolical attributes of authority support this structure.

According to N.Zdorovega, in Zakarpattia distinguishing symbols of the bridegroom and his drujba were specially made quirts – "batihs", "palytsias" – druzhbivky, hatchets[1]. A "palytsia" was used in asking for marriage ceremony and engagement (by elder men, bridegroom); and during the wedding ceremony the bride invited visitors with "palytsia" in hand. In everyday life, "palytsia" was part of the married man's complex of clothes; the hatchet was a symbol of such distinction in Zakarpattya[2].

The "palytsia" and "batih" are important symbols of the status of wedding ceremony grades. As G.-L. Boplan wrote, describing wedding customs of Ukrainians in 17th century, youth was going in pairs while inviting on the wedding, and leading guy held "palytsia" and extended greetings and invitations on behalf of the whole group[3].

In wedding ceremonies, the "palytsia" and "batih" is used in several similar instances each with a different symbolical content: in the ritual of palpation; in the ritual action of meeting on the threshold; as a sign of a wedding grade.

Symbolical meaning of the ritual palpation is considered by the researchers to be a wish of good, happiness, and fertility. N.I.Tolstoy notes that ritual of palpation by a willow on Palm Sunday symbolizes fertilization, wish of fertility. He compares ritual speeches that are made at palpation by a willow with wedding folklore, where the form of a wish coincides: " be rich as the earth and healthy as the water"[4]. Custom to beat by a willow is widespread on the all territory of Ukraine. Willow is also a widespread vegetative symbol which symbolize life. A.V.Kurochkin specifies, that the willow as a symbol in the same meaning appears in ritual of Kupala, and its meaning is rather similar to a symbol of "hiltse" (decorated tree or branch, symbol of the tree of the world) in wedding ritual[5].

N.I.Tolstoy, analyzing the process of "palpation" in other cultures, notes that this act symbolizes fertilization, thus ritual can be accompanied not only verbal component, and action of giving the presents[6]. In symbolical sense it is identical to ritual sprinkling by grain in Ukrainian wedding.

Ritual beating by a "batih", which a bride receives from the future husband, is common practice for all Indo-European peoples[7]. Symbolical meaning of beating by a "batih" is found in ceremony when newly wedded are lifted from a conjugal bed by beating by a "batih"[8]. There is a widespread custom when the bridegroom strikes the bride while leaving the house of the bride[9]. The symbolical content of the use of a "batih" is clearly visible in ritual of the "laying" of the newly-weds in Kholmshchyna. Newly-wedded were brought in a barn, and "svakhy" (female relatives of the bridegroom) sang:

"Роди, Боже, пшеницю, Роди,
Боже, ячмінь, Жеби наші
молодці Спали собі при купці".

Newly-wedded were in a barn, while one of the "svahy" was beating by "batih" the furnace in the house and sang:

"Ой, комине, небоже,
Юж Надюня в коморі..."[10]

In this case not the bride, but the furnace is beaten. The furnace is one of the main symbols that is used while making round loaf – “korovay”. The use verbal symbols “to beat” “to break”, “flog” in wedding folklore is identical. These words symbolize the act of transition from girlhood to womanhood.

“Калина січена,
Наталка звінчана.
Червоний чобіт на нозі,
Золотий перстень на руці,
Що купив Микола на торзі”[11].

The form of palpation by “batih” is used only in relation to the girl, but this verbal expression is applied to the bridegroom as well.

“Обсип мати вівсом,
Червоною калиною,
Кропи свяченою водою,
Долею щасливою”.

There is no symbol of palpation in this form, however, the symbol of continuing of the family appears as sprinkling by red berries of snowball tree, which is a symbol of a girl.

Symbol “to beat” is used in wedding not only in relation to married couple, but also for giving sense of creation for the ritual of marriage night. The tour of bridegroom to bride is a symbolic act of creation.

“Золоте зернятко в стіни б’є,
А зять до тещі в гості йде”.

The “palytsia” as a symbol carries out functions, identical to functions of the “batih”.

The “batih”, as well as the “palytsia” is an attribute of a wedding grade and is used depending on circumstances. These symbols are used in identical situations. For example, the “drujba” three times blesses the visitors, then three times christens by his “palytsia” doors, which stand all time open; after that everyone enters into the house[12]. In other case the “drujba” three times beats in the doors, using the “batih”, decorated with bells, puts the “batih” on a threshold, and the bridegroom with the bride (but only they) should cross through it, leaving the house (the room); the “drujba” does the same (crosses through the “batih”) on a threshold of the exit to the yard[13]. As it is seen at the given examples, the use of the “batih” and the “palytsia” serves for ritual consecration (opening) of internal space of habitation. The difference is that in a case with the “batih” the internal space opens only for the bridegroom and the bride (or for unmarried youth). This has the ritual meaning of allotment the youth with fertility, health. In the other case “starosta” (the eldest men) uses the “palytsia” for opening the internal space for the visitors. On the one hand, it is the symbolical act – “saver”: making the sign of the cross on house in order to forbid the entry for the malicious (evil) forces. On another hand, this is the symbolic destruction of the internal space. Function of the internal space destruction with the help of the “palytsia” is clearly seen in the example of the use of the “palytsia” by the bridegroom, who while asking for marriage has to stand in the corner for brooms, pokers, and dig up the earthen floor there by the “palytsia”[14]. This has the same symbolical meaning as digging up the furnace by the girl, which wants to marry.

Other destructive function of the “palytsia” is shown at untwisting of the bride’s braid. As Hv.Vovk specifies, sometimes ‘boyars’ (friends of the bridegroom, leaded by “the drujba”) take part in this ritual, symbolic untwisting braid of the girl by the ends of their “palysia’s[15].

When “the drujba” is christening the door with the “palytsia”, the song is sang:

“Рубай, свату двері,
Рубай ще й одвірки,
Рубай ще й одвірки,
Пускай нас до дівки”[16].

However, the symbolical destruction, is necessary to consider not as destruction, but as a transition from the one status to another. The destructive function of the “palytsia” also unites in itself the creative function as well. In particular, in the song, characterizing, is sang:

“А в нашого свата
З верби з лози хата.
А з трижня одвірки:
Пускайте до дівки.
Боявся пустити,
Щоб хату не розвалити”[17].

“Willows and withe” house symbolizes the life and the continuation of the family, withe and willow acts as symbols of fertility[18].

“The drujba”, or “marshalok” (the senior boyar, the marshal) has a symbol of his role the “batih” and the “palytsia” as well[19]. The “batih” and the “palytsia” in this case serves as symbols that designate the symbolical social status of their carriers: “kniaz”, “boyar” in real life. As V.K.Borysenko notes, in the Ukrainian wedding the military features are characterizing the wedding grades: “kniaz”, “boyar”, “marshalok”, “horunjiy”[20]. It makes other plan of the contents of symbols of the “batih” and the “palytsia”. The military elements in the wedding ceremony have rather archaic forms, but with current of time there was the transformation of the initial meaning of the main wedding grades: “kniaz” and “kniagynia”. A.Bajburin and G.Levinton note the multiple meanings of the “kniaz” symbol. They noted that the symbol of “kniaz” bears in itself a space code and associates with the sun, moon, star, from the one side and code of exaltation, transition of the bridegroom in a higher social level. It is connected the transformation and legal meaning of the term “knyaz” (in understanding of the ruling person)[21]. With overlaying of the social structure on the form of the wedding grades it becomes possible to connect occurrence of other meanings of the symbols of the “batih” and the “palysia”. In this case we can speak about the use of the “palytsia” and the “batih” in the form of ritual weapon, which serves to differ the belonging to a privileged ruling class. So we see, that if the cortege of the bridegroom, having come nearer to the house of bride, finds the gates shut and blocked by a tree and the house guarded by a crowd of guys who lift upwards their “palytsia’s, personifying themselves the armed protection. As a rule, it comes to an end by the giving a wolf berry, adhered on the end of the “palytsia”, to the bridegroom. Sometimes they shoot in the air from a gun[22], if they have it. The symbolical meaning of the “palysia” as a weapon is visible as well in other episodes of wedding.

The “palytsia” acts as a destructive source in the first and second case, the transition from one condition to another. The “batih” loses the creative function in the second case, and acts only as an attribute of belonging to the wedding grade. And it is used in cases when the use of the destructive force of the “palytsia” is impossible. So, when the cortege of the bridegroom enters into a court yard, mother of the bride in the turned out woolskin oat blocks the road of the bridegroom and three times approaches (scare) him, sometimes the bridegroom and his “starosta” beat her by “the “batih” to show, that they are not afraid of her[23]. In this case the use of the “batih” is inadmissible, the turned out coat on the mother carries out the protective function (to frighten), and further it is a symbol of well being and crop.

Other case of the use of the “batih” as a weapon when “the drujba” expels the guests of the bride from her house where should take place the guests of the bridegroom[24]. The use of the “palysia” in this case also is inappropriate, as far the “palytsia” has dominantly a destructive source, and the “batih” symbolically is gifting the guests with well being.

The imposing of the two contents in the “palytsia” symbol is clearly seen in the song:

“Ой по під лісом бита доріжка,
Ой туди йшов Миколо з боярами.
Йому калина дорогу заступила,
Вийняв шабельку, став калину рубати,
Стала калина до нього промовляти
Не рубай мене гострею шабелькою,
Обвий мене червоною китайкою,
Червоною китайкою, долею щасливою”[25].

In this case snowball tree (the symbol of the young girl) is chopped with a sabre, though the symbol “to chop” keeps constant meaning.

The use of the “batih” and the “palytsia” in Ukrainian wedding ceremony is one of the main symbols. It is necessary to consider symbols the “batih” and the “palytsia” as unity, because they are the form of expression of mythological creation and destruction. The coding on the mythological level results in a plenty of the synonymic forms of expression of these symbols. In symbols the “palysia”, the “batih” not only mythological content occurs, but as well social one, when they act as the attributes of the social status. Rather frequently in the customs it is

difficult to allocate any separate content, and it is necessary to estimate meanings of the symbols in complex. A vivid example of an interlacing of the different symbolical meanings in the use of the "palysia" we can observe in Bojkivshchyna during the ceremony of preparing the bride for a journey to the bridegroom. "Starosta", who helps to move to the bridegroom's house takes on a shoulder a feather-bed, which was given by the mother of the bride, three sackcloth's with two loafs of bread inside. As "starosta" leaves, the guys with "palysia's attack him and begin to beat the feather-bed. The "drujba" of the bridegroom keep off them[26]. In this case rite of the palpation by the "palytsia" can symbolize an armed attack with the purpose to steal the bride (bride's bed). Beating the feather-bed can symbolize change of the bride's status, and the bread aside of it – well-being.

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Роман МОТРИЧУК
Київ

ЗНАКОВІСТЬ ПАЛИЦІ ТА БАТОГА В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ВЕСІЛЬНІЙ ОБРЯДОВОСТІ

У роботі розглянуто символіку використання палиці та батога в українському традиційному весіллі. Особливу увагу приділено багатокодовості символів та їх синонімічності, проаналізовано антонімічність розуміння значимості кожного символу, їх руйнуючий та творчий початок. Досліджено взаємопов'язаність вербального символу "бити – сікти" з предметними символами "батіг" та "палиця". Розглянуто застосування в багатьох випадках батога та палиці, які несуть зміст запліднення та одночасно зброї як ознаки весільного чину.

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